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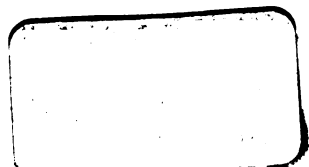
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**THE GIFT OF**  
**Edna Lamprey Stantial**

**WOMAN'S RIGHTS  
COLLECTION**







**PROCEEDINGS**  
**OF THE**  
**NATIONAL**  
**WOMEN'S RIGHTS CONVENTION,**

**HELD AT**  
**CLEVELAND, OHIO,**  
**ON**  
**WEDNESDAY, THURSDAY, AND FRIDAY,**  
**October 5th, 6th, and 7th, 1853.**

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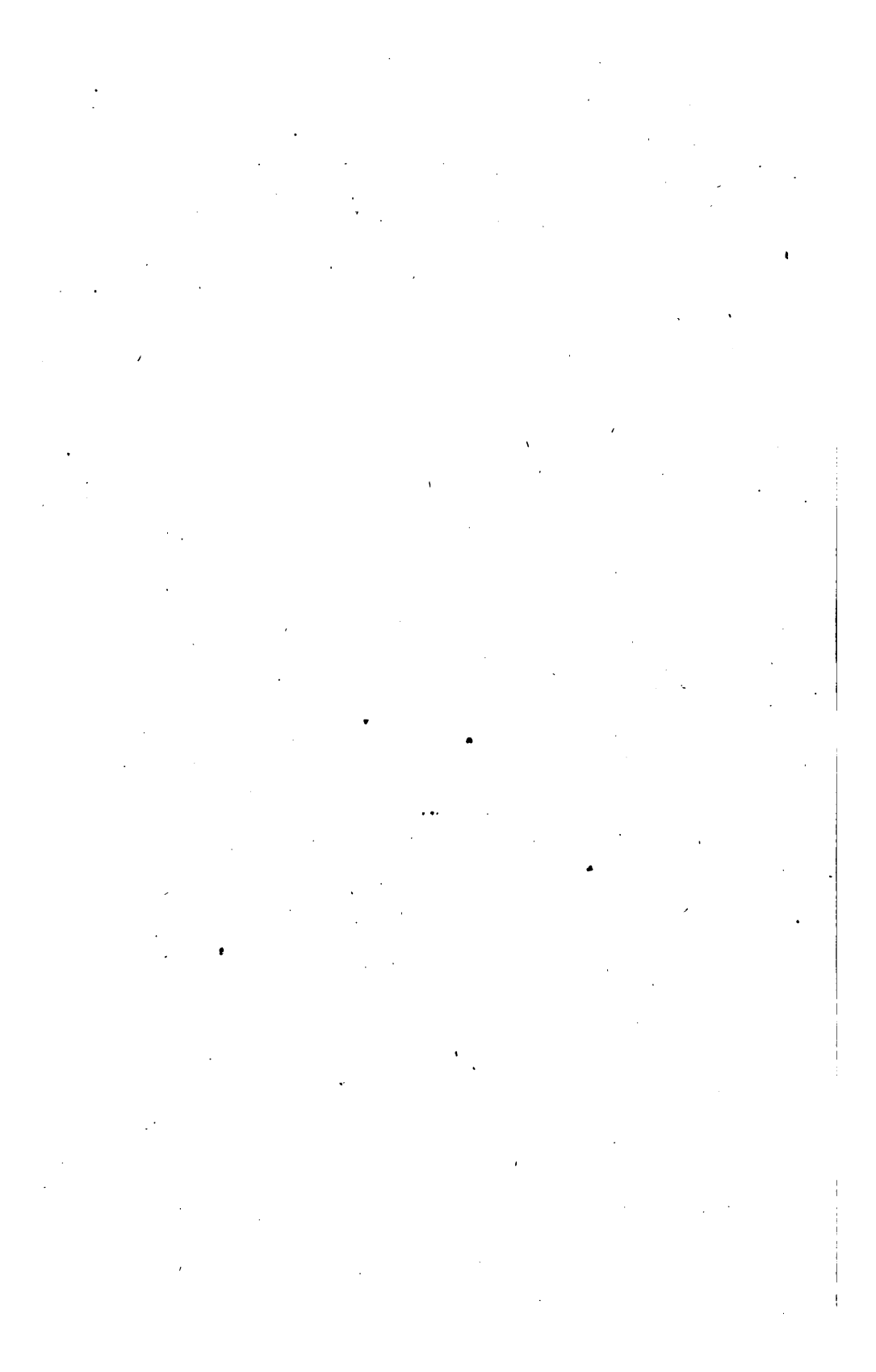
[Phonographically reported by T. C. Leland, of New York City.]

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**PUBLISHED FOR THE COMMITTEE.**

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FRANCES D. GAGE, of Missouri, being chosen President, a fervent prayer was offered by Rev. ANTOINETTE L. BROWN.

The following additional officers were then duly appointed:

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MRS. EMILY ROBINSON, Ohio.

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WEDNESDAY, October 5th, 1853.

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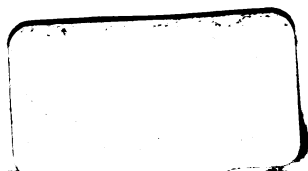
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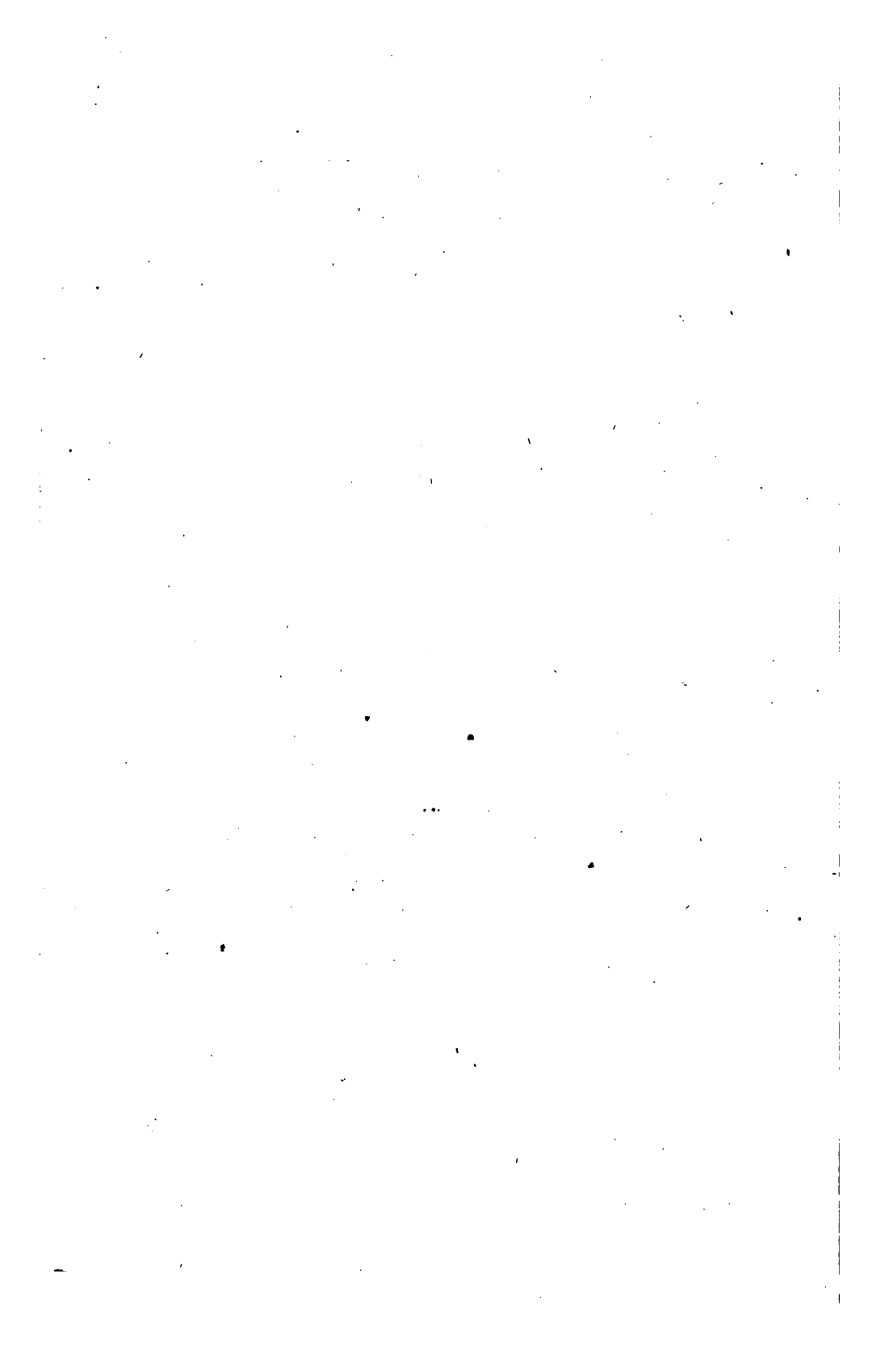


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discussing this movement, and trying to keep woman in her "proper place"—some for, and some against. I was asked a few days ago, "What do you women want?" I replied, "We ask equality with men, before the law. The rights of humanity. The rights guaranteed to all mankind." "But are you not afraid that woman will run into excesses, that homes will be deserted, that men will lack wives in this country?" I have but one reply to make to that question. Society grants to every man in the United States, *every free "white male citizen,"* who has complied with a few restrictions of the law, the privilege of voting, and of being voted for; of being President of the United States; of sitting upon the bench; of filling the jury box, of going to Congress; to the Senate of the United States; to the Halls of the Legislature, and of filling every office in the gift of the people, if he can get himself appointed to that office; and we don't believe woman will get very far out of her place, if society should yield her the same rights. If her neighbors and friends seriously think she is fitted to fill an office, I see no reason why she should not. Give us the privileges we ask; give us equality, and then let this truer society regulate human affairs, as men have hitherto done alone. I think there is enough of the conservative principle in society, to prevent any dangers growing out of this matter, or any thing deleterious to society; and I think this covers the whole ground so far as the real right is concerned. The details I shall not here enlarge upon.

I hope our discussions will be a little more extensive than the call would seem to warrant, which indicates simply our right to the political franchise.

Mrs. Morr.—I would state that the limitation in the call, was not anticipated at all, at the last convention. The issuing of the call was left to the central committee; but it was not supposed that they would specify any particular part of the labor of the convention, but that the broad ground of the presentation of the wrongs of woman; the assertion of her rights, and the encouragement to perseverance in individual and combined action, and the restoration of those rights, should be taken.

Mrs. GAGE.—I would remark once for all, to the convention, that there is perfect liberty given here to every one to speak upon the subject under discussion, both for and against, and that we urge all to do so. If there are any who have objections, we wish to hear them. If arguments are presented, which convince us that we are doing wrong, we wish all to act upon them. I feel extremely to regret that while we have held convention after convention, where this same liberty has been given, no one has had a word to say against us at the time, but that some have reserved their hard words of opposition to the movement, only to go away and vent them through the newspapers, amounting frequently even to gross misrepresentation. I hope every one here, will remember, with deep seriousness, that the same Almighty finger which traced upon the tablets of stone the commands, "Thou shalt not kill," "Thou shalt not steal," traced also there these words, "*Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor.*"

A letter was next read by Miss ANTOINETTE L. BROWN, from ABRAM BAIRD, JR.

Letters were then read by Mrs. C. M. SEVERANCE. One from SAMUEL J. MAY, of Syracuse, N. Y., not designed for publication, expressive of unabated interest in the great question the convention had met to consider, and regretting deeply his inability to be present; extracts of a private letter from Mrs. SARAH OTIS ERNST, of Cincinnati, touching strongly and ably, some points suggestive of the needful reform in reference to woman's position and education, political and property rights; and the following from Mrs. REBECCA M. SANFORD:

NEW LONDON, HURON Co., O. }  
October 3d, 1853. }

FRIENDS OF REFORM:—

Not being present at the convention, I can but express my interest by a few lines, addressed to my sisters in the work of woman's social and civil elevation.

The mere question of woman's civil rights, is not a deep one, for it is a natural one, and closely follows her mission in this world. She was not created anything else than a helpmeet to man, and

where to limit that assistance, there is no rule in nature, except her physical functions; *there is a limit in law*, but whether the law has the right to place her where she is, is the question.

It must be conceded that the law has drawn too great an inference from her ancient social attitude, and from present custom and prejudice. But has the law the right to be prejudiced—ought it not to stand pure, and noble, and magnanimous, founded on the natural rights of the human soul?

The law grants woman protection; it also grants negroes, animals and property, protection in their certain spheres. It gives no more to woman.

Woman's sphere, is her capability of performing her duty to herself, her family and to society—taking self-preservation as the first law of her nature. At present, she does not fully act in her sphere. The lid of the ballot-box, shuts out more than one-half of her duty to herself, family and society. The eye of the law is diseased, and woman must be made assistant oculist, to render that eye pure and single-sighted. Let not this convention close until some way and means are decided upon to secure woman's vote at the polls. The propriety or impropriety of the same place and box, and other objections, can be disposed of in a short time, as occasion requires.

This done, the monster evils of society, Intemperance, &c., can be handled with ungloved hands.

At this time, as far as custom—made potent by law—permits woman to lead her sons on in the journey of life, she keeps them pure and unspotted from the world; but, where she leaves off, hell's avenues are opened, and man too often leads them through.

By the agitation of this question during the last five years, the elevation of woman has sensibly progressed, in the trades, in the professions, in mercantile employments, and in self-respect; at the same time, she has not lessened her influence around the fireside! She is the same noble, cheerful, patient wife and mother, and a better philanthropist. I can adduce facts on this point.

My mission of lecturing has led me into nearly all the northern counties of this State, and of my acquaintances—nearly one thousand

women, all right on this question—I do not know of *but one* who is not a good housekeeper, wife and mother; while, on the contrary, I never knew a strong opposer, who was a cheerful and orderly woman at home, or a discreet woman abroad. The same I can say of my acquaintances in New York, Maryland and Virginia. Therefore, I put it down as a marked fact, that a bad domestic and social woman is sure to oppose this agitation; while a woman who does her duty in her present limits, is ready to do her duty when limits are expanded.

“Be faithful over a few things and I will make thee ruler over many,” is higher authority than Blackstone.

Allow me, as one who has been obliged to look upon our conventions from many points of observation, and to note their effects upon community by actual communication with that community; as one who feels identified in principle and purpose; to suggest, perfect unity, and but few resolutions; and those well digested, and fully acted upon. Beware of *ultraisms*. I mean mental, monstrous, unconstitutional deformities; not the perfection of what is just and right.

Give a high tone and elevation to your deliberations; encourage all the sisters who have spoken and acted in this work; bring out the true, the beautiful, the divine of your own souls, to meet the true, the grand, the divine inspirations of this agitation.

One thing else I would strongly recommend. Let no gentleman be appointed to office, in the convention, or by the convention. You will then secure yourselves from outside coarseness, and secure to yourselves greater respect from the public at large. If you do not come to this *now*, you will be obliged to come to it, before you receive the credit for a *wisdom* you justly deserve.

May God guide you and bless you.

Yours, strong in the right,

REBECCA M. SANFORD.

To the Woman's Convention at Cleveland, }  
October 5th and 6th, 1853. }

[*From Horace Greeley.*]

NEW YORK, October 2d, 1853.

MADAM:—I have received yours of the 26th, this moment. I can but briefly answer, that an engagement, long since made, to visit Indiana next week, will detain me from home at least ten days; I must not make it three weeks by visiting Ohio this week. Beside, I do not see that my presence in Cleveland, could be of any service. The question to be considered concerns principally Woman, and Woman should mostly consider it. I recognize most thoroughly the right of woman to choose her own sphere of activity and usefulness, and to evolve its proper limitations. If she sees fit to navigate vessels, print newspapers, frame laws, and select rulers—any or all of these—I know no principle that justifies MAN in interposing any impediment to her doing so. The only argument entitled to any weight against the fullest concession of the rights you demand, rests in the assumption that WOMAN DOES NOT CLAIM ANY SUCH RIGHTS, but chooses to be ruled, guided, impelled, and have her sphere presented for her by MAN.

I think the present state of our laws respecting property and inheritance, as respects married women, show very clearly that woman OUGHT NOT to be satisfied with her present position; yet it may be that she is so. If all those who have never given this matter a serious thought are to be considered on the side of conservatism, of course, that side must preponderate. Be this as it may, Woman alone can, in the present state of the controversy, speak effectively for Woman, since none others can speak with authority, or from the depths of a personal experience.

Hoping that your convention may result in the opening of many eyes, and the elevation of many minds from light in graver themes,

I remain yours,      HORACE GREELEY.

Mrs. C. M. SEVERANCE, Cleveland, O.

The convention was then addressed as follows, by Mrs. LYDIA A. JENKINS, of Waterloo, N. Y.

MY FRIENDS:—The calling of this convention, among other signs



of the times, shows us that Improvement is the practical watchword of the age. It is inscribed in living characters upon every department of nature. There is a law indelibly impressed upon the mental and moral nature of man, which leads him to desire a higher and still higher degree of mental and moral attainment. The range of human improvement is illimitable. Every man rises the stronger, because of his desire to press forward and upward, to occupy a still more exalted station; and this desire has never, in any previous period of the world's history, equalled that of the present time, in point of intensity. So strong has it become in woman, that she now demands, at the hand of man, her full right to the expression of this progressive spirit; that every barrier should be thrown down, and that every pathway should be laid open to her, as freely as to himself. Then would the divine energy pervade the human nature, to a degree unknown in the past history of the world. But this will not be done, until inward and outward freedom, for woman as much as for man, shall be acknowledged as a right, not yielded as a concession.

Were thought and feeling so far elevated in man, that he would regard himself the brother, but in no wise the Lord, of woman; did he fully realize this equality, any arrangements with regard to offices and employments, would be unnecessary. What woman wants, is the growth of her soul, the freedom of her intellect, the right as a human being, to live unimpeded; to develop all the powers given her at her creation. To this end, the education of our daughters, should be vastly different from what it now is. Parents should be impressed with a firm belief in the equal humanity of the sexes. Daughters, as well as sons, should be addressed as beings possessing living minds. Instead of clothing the head with outward adornment, it should be regarded as the temple of the immortal intellect. Call on them for force of character—require of them honor and fidelity—require the highest virtues of which you have a knowledge. Allow them the key to the secret wonders of the universe, and, through the incentive given by a high expectation, prevent their privileges from lying idle. Give them a sense of self-dependence. Let the

world be free to them, that they may live freely in it. As their most valuable portion, give them a dignified sense of independence. Thus will that faith, that intelligence, that self-respect be established, which, notwithstanding the storms of adversity, will buoy their bark on life's tempestuous sea, and with these as a chart and a compass, will anchor them in a secure haven. Woman has never been trained to self-dependence. This has been a greater defect in her education than the neglect to impart knowledge in a more direct manner. Education consists not so much in learning facts as in being able to grasp principles with a comprehensive mind, and in learning to adapt ourselves to the universe of matter and mind which surrounds us. That education which has no practical utility, should not be dignified by the name. I do not propose to enlarge upon the blessings of education; but I will say, that in as far as these vast advantages of education are understood and appreciated, with reference to the more favored sex, in so far, at least, are they essential to the sex hitherto neglected.

But because of this neglect, woman has not risen; she has been weighed in the balance and found wanting. She has been denied systematic education, ample and adequate instruction, with the motive of self-benefit in view, and to fit her to fulfil the object of her earthly pilgrimage.

If woman is naturally less intellectual and more feeble minded than man, surely that is a very good reason why she should have all the advantages of education that man possesses. But has a strengthening and invigorating system of education been devised for her? The defects of her mental powers being so obvious, doubtless the philanthropy of the financiers and legislators, has endowed many schools and colleges for her benefit, that as far as possible these radical deficiencies may be remedied! No indeed! this is very far from being the case. Should poor simple minded woman—as it is said—feel any yearnings to advance farther than the very alphabet of learning, difficulties present themselves on every hand. In our own country, she is better provided for than in any other, but what do we see here? Colleges and universities where she may retire from active life, where she may

uninterruptedly secure an education ? By no means, she is blest with none of these advantages. Of the two hundred and fifty colleges in this country, no more than half a dozen admit woman to their privileges. And woman too pays her full share for their support. In all candor, let me ask if our country could boast of as many great minds, if this had been the encouragement *man* had received ? It would not, I am sure, have been the case.

We must admit that it is not the want of talent, but the positive hindrances that woman meets, which detain her in her upward career, since it has been proven in too many instances to be doubted, that her capacities and aspirations are equal to those of man. Our Queen Catharines and Elizabeths in the olden time, our De Staels and Martineaus, have shown abilities in far seeing political sagacity which have been envied by all, but not surpassed by any. When it could be said of one of these, that she was the most profound politician of her time, and of another that she is doing more for political reform than any man of her nation ; does it not show what woman is capable of becoming. It may be said that these are rare instances, they are, but we might bring forward many others from the records of history not inferior to these; and then too, if they are selected instances from the few on record, it proves nothing against the point. If *one* woman elevates *herself*, then others are capable of aspiring to and reaching positions, perhaps less in degree, but the same in kind. Our Edgeworths, Mitchells, Moores, Morgans, Thorntons, Hemans, Childs, Sommervilles and a host of others, prove positively her scientific and literary abilities. If there were but few, if there were but one, who had reached these positions in spite of the obstacles that surround woman's advancement, it would prove positively that woman should have all the advantages that man possesses. It is with a feeling of exultation, of pride, we say, that notwithstanding all these disadvantages, and notwithstanding due rewards have been withheld from woman, we have noble examples of women for whom the innate and irrepressible impulse of a capacious mind has sufficed ; and whose immortal genius has surprised, while it has rebuked the world.

But the mass of woman have lacked the stimulus which is afforded

by the contact of mind with mind. The avenues to the political, scientific, and industrial world have been closed upon them. In the earlier stages of the world, man's lower passions bore sway, and he was the valiant hero, who possessed the strongest muscles, and could boast the greatest shrewdness in their use. Woman being less in size, was degraded in proportion as he was elevated on account of this supposed superiority. His greater might, decided it to be right that she should be his slave. Accordingly we find her, even among those who felt themselves to be the chosen people of the Lord, oppressed, degraded ; allowed as a wife in the family no higher position than that of a servant, to tend the flocks and perform menial services. We find her, notwithstanding her weakness, engaged in those employments which were necessary for the maintenance of the family ; while her lord indulged his warlike, lubidinous and bacchanalian propensities. The services of the daughter also, were used to increase the wealth of the household ; accordingly when the daughters were to be given in marriage—and woman has always been *given* in marriage—the father exacted a bonus, and man's wealth was estimated by the number of his wives.

But as ages rolled on, woman in common with man progressed. Still however she was the *subject* of lustful man, and those charms which fed his low desires, were impaired by constant hardships and exposures. Still being a subject, being directed, controlled and governed by man, and becoming by the means I have already mentioned less and less beneficial, pecuniarily, the terms of agreement changed hands, and the father for the sake of getting rid of his daughter, offered a reward with her to him who should take the responsibility of providing for her wants. Now who shall say that this is not to a great extent true at this day ? My sisters, do not your cheeks burn with indignation, that now in the nineteenth century, woman is regarded as an article of commerce ? yes lustful commerce ! and that marriage is the one idea of her life ? On her part, it is because she is to a great extent shut out from the means of providing for her own subsistence, and that this is the main recourse left, bearing the name of respectability. Accordingly she enters with the

greatest avidity into the contemplation of that, which can be the only change in life. We cannot wonder at the result.

Let woman be rightly educated, not because she is to be a wife, and the mother of the race; but because she has an immortal mind, which needs cultivation for her highest good here, and to fit her for life eternal. Then those other duties will take their place in natural order. She will not hasten prematurely to assume them. Being fitted for her own highest enjoyment, she will know how to contribute to the happiness of her family.

In the formation of the human race it was deemed wise by our creator to make it incumbent upon man as a happy being, that he should engage in useful employments. I claim the same right for woman to choose her occupation, as for man; she should be an equal aspirant with him, to all the useful and honorable employments of life. But society is all wrong upon this question. It condemns the woman, as out of her sphere, as indelicate or masculine, who endeavors to live out her desire for usefulness. Should she venture to do this, she is pointed to as unwilling to act in her sphere; as wishing to be a man. It is this crushing weight of public sentiment, that operates more powerfully against her than all the laws upon the statute books. In addition to all this she receives no encouragement in point of remuneration. Even the limited circle of employments to which she has access, affords her no more than one third the compensation which men receive in the same employments. Then too it happens to be the case that the employments, to which she has no access, are those which pay most largely. We may search the records of the past, and look over the present, and we shall find it has been always true, that in whatever employments they do engage, they occupy a secondary position in remuneration. I noticed this morning, a list of Lawyers' fees in this city. The list ranged from three to fifty dollars, according to the labor performed. Woman would become more independent, were she also admitted to such advantages as these, might she have the advantages of independence which equality with man in this respect would afford.

It is admitted by all, that women are better adapted for instructors,

than men are. In the addresses and reports of superintendents and other school officers, the people are advised by all means to employ women, because they are better instructors. Yet notwithstanding this is admitted, should a woman's endowments and capacities be found equal or superior to those of man, where he would receive fifty dollars, she would get not more than twenty-five; perhaps only twenty. In looking over the report of the Boston school some time since, where there were eight teachers, five females and three males, I saw that the salaries of the male teachers ranged from one thousand dollars to fifteen hundred dollars per year; while the salaries of the females were three hundred each. The combined salary of five female teachers, only equalling that of one male teacher. Now why is this? There is no nation on earth where industrial avocations are open to women with equal facilities for success and equal stimuli to greatness and usefulness. Hence she is limited to a very inferior circle of employments, and even there, is forced to starve on half pay. What a contrast does this present to the position of man. The wide world is his sphere, hence he never goes beyond its limits, although he engage in the most ennobling employments; and never falls below it, although he descend to the most trifling occupation. His sphere is a peculiarly graduated circle, having the power of self adjustment, to suit any occasion. Literature, Fine Arts, Government, Politics; any thing he chooses, and with every prospect of success, are departments of industry open to him, which stimulate him to action. What wonder that woman is not equal to man? What wonder that she binds herself in marriage, without duly considering the objects of that sacred relation? Aye worse! What wonder that she prostitutes all her God-given powers—that she lives a life of immorality and vice, and goes to her grave unpitied, unwept, unhonored, and unknown; without having fulfilled the object of her earthly pilgrimage, and destitute of preparation for a higher and holier state. Ye advocates of moral reform, look at the causes of her demoralization, nor expect with all the means you now employ, that the soul destroying dens of civilized cities will be removed, until you arouse woman's energies to the same encouragement to high endeavor; not until you remove from our midst the giant prejudice which paralyses her arm, and renders her powerless;

not until you permit her the well earned remuneration, for her toil ! Then will she have no overcoming temptation to a life of immorality ; and then will this mildew of society, this leprosy in our midst, be wasted away and known no more forever. My soul sickens at the wrong, society imposes upon my sex. When I see them refused all ennobling employments, and compelled to accept the crumbs which fall from their master's table, their minds dwarfed for want of mental culture ; my soul in anguish for the wrongs of womanhood exclaims—Heavenly Father ! why hast thou permitted thy purer but weaker child, to be trampled upon by her stronger, but, in thy sight, only equal brother ? But the clouds of darkness part, and on their light fringed curtains behold the response—"Bid woman not despond, but prepare for the dawning of a glorious day ; see upon the white draped clouds of the East, the golden light breaks forth. Soon her propitious sun will rise, and illumine a glorious pathway for her weary feet to tread.

My sisters take courage, the promise is given and the day of fulfilment cannot be far distant ! Go to work in good earnest, relying on yourselves. Do your part to correct public sentiment ; in as far as you cannot correct it, go in opposition to it. Do what your consciousness tells you to be proper and desirable.

I believe in the equal right of both sexes, to all employments. When we remember that in England, France, Germany, and in our own country, we have specimens of those who excel in agriculture ; I would say to women who are disposed, become manufacturing capitalists, agriculturalists ; study and practice the fine arts, establish your Daguerrian galleries, and galleries of painting. Engage in all or any of these employments towards which you feel any attraction, and for which you have ability.

In short insist upon your right to engage in the better paid employments. There are other stations which we may not expect to occupy so soon ; as for instance, the political and governmental situations. But woman must soon recover the right to her part of the fortress. Stop not to reason upon her capabilities, but move on steadily and resolutely ; your capabilities will then come to be seen and acknowledged, and need not be reasoned upon. We shall for some time, as

we do now, hear a great deal said about woman being out of her sphere and indelicate; but let it be known that woman can define her own sphere, and preserve her own delicacy too. It is said she possesses far more delicacy than man. Then how preposterous in him to arrogate the right to preserve hers, when he is weak in maintaining his own. Were we to reverse the case, it might seem more reasonable.

Since a few noble women have chosen to enter one or two of the professions, we hear a good deal said in regard to this. The idea is discussed as something no longer in the future, but as something existing among us now.

Having set her foot within the threshold of the dissecting room, she has become acquainted with the minutest parts of human physiology, and discovering in the race diseases, arising from ignorance and uncontrolled appetites; she has roamed the forest, in search of the healing balm, or, perhaps, retired to the pool of Bethesda, whose waters are troubled, to aid the leprous in washing away disease. She has opened the pondrous lids of musty law books, and plead the cause of the oppressed. She has gone forth, at the Auroral dawn, to hold communion with her Heavenly Father, or, bending over the midnight lamp, has studied his revealed will, to man, that she might aid her brother to turn from error's paths, to fountains from which gush living waters.

These bold steps have not failed of producing their natural sensation. While female students of medicine have been hailed with opprobrious epithets, by opponents, the heart of woman has leaped forth to welcome them as messengers of comfort, to diseased and dying souls. The idea has been struggling up through ages of darkness, that woman needs her own sex to minister to her in sickness; needs those who will not bury their knowledge in the convolutions of their own brains. Those who will give their greatest and best thoughts for the good of all, the *prevention* of evil.

Nor is woman any the less perfectly adapted to the Legal profession. It should not, however, be supposed that *she* would toil over the encumbering rubbish, and unintelligible subtilties connected with this profession, leaving the principles of right and justice to go by the board.



The admissions of all classes would imply that she is better adapted to the Theological profession than man. Her purer instincts and special aptness for moral truth; her ready discernment as to the fitness of things, are the very elements now and ever needed in the Theological world. She might not devote so much attention to sectarian differences, but she would lay more stress upon the practical application of the truth.

There are evils in all the professions—evils which need to be eradicated. As many of these have risen by the exclusion of the feminine half of humanity, they can be done away with only by admitting the excluded party to a free participation in all their advantages; by the infusion of that refining and correcting element, which the mind of woman can best supply, to all the real uses and interests which these several professions are intended to subserve.

Then let no question of sex be raised as to education, offices or employments; but let the entire range of studies requisite for thorough training, in every department of education, be alike free to both sexes, with liberty and opportunity alike for developing and exercising all the powers of the mind. In a natural arrangement of society, that in which one of either sex is peculiarly adapted to excel, is that in which he or she will legitimately engage. Those arbitrary divisions which are made in society, would then be done away, and woman, by a greater infusion of individual action, and independence in society, would be exalted in her higher nature, and develop her life more beautifully and truly.

MR. H. M. ADDISON, of Cleveland, rose to move, that as the State Temperance Convention now in session in this city had passed an unanimous resolution to invite Mrs. BLOOMER to repeat before them the admirable lecture delivered the night previous in the Baptist Church, this Convention should adjourn to attend.

MRS. E. L. ROSE.—I wish to make a few remarks on that suggestion, and in doing so, I hope no one will consider my remarks dictated by opposition to temperance, or to the lady who has been invited to speak in that Convention. But we have a great deal of work to be done. Some resolutions have just been sent in by the business com-

mittee, and I think we should not adjourn for any purpose so early in our sessions. I move that the resolutions be read.

MRS. MOTT.—I think we should receive with a little more courtesy the invitation which has been extended to us. (Mrs. MOTT and others mistook Mr. ADDISON's *proposition*, for an invitation from the Temperance Convention.) The Convention, I am sure, has the power to suspend its proceedings for an hour, for the purpose of going to hear one of our sisters. The invitation is certainly a kind one; but we do right to be a little jealous, from what has occurred in one celebrated Temperance Convention, and as Miss BROWN is one of our officers, lest she should be again insulted in a Temperance Convention. I should like to know if they disavow the proceedings of the New York Convention in reference to her?

MR. ADDISON.—The invitation was extended to Mrs. BLOOMER for the express purpose of doing away with the prejudice, which has been got up so lately, against woman's speaking in temperance meetings.

MR. BARKER.—Is that Convention prepared to disown the action of the World's Convention towards a regularly accredited delegate, and a lady who is one of our Vice Presidents? If they are disposed to disown that action, it might have some influence, if not on the Convention as a whole, at least on individuals present.

MR. ADDISON.—I know a very large majority of our Convention disapprove of the proceedings of that Bachelors' Hall Convention, in New York. As to the question whether any action will be taken in our Convention to-day, disowning those proceedings, I presume it was not thought of. Perhaps, to avoid any unpleasant feelings, it would be better not to bring the subject up in the form of a resolution. However, I should not have any objection myself to have it come up, and would vote for it, if Gen. CARY was there himself.

C. C. BURLEIGH.—I move that our hour of adjournment this day be three o'clock instead of two, so as to accept this invitation. I like the movement in that quarter, and am willing to receive it as a first step toward the declaration that Northern Ohio dissents from the Ministers' mob in New York, and that it intends to stand on the ground of the equal rights of all the friends of temperance. I

hope these friends will adopt this course, and show the world that there are parts of the country where the *sex* of those who defend temperance principles, is not inquired after.

S. S. FOSTER.—I understood that notice had been given that our Convention would assemble at two o'clock this afternoon. If such notice has been given, it seems to me we shall get into confusion by adjourning to a different hour. On another ground, we ought not to accept this invitation. I like very much that the proposition should come before this meeting in the shape it has. I am happy to know that a Temperance Society of Northern Ohio has called a woman to advocate temperance principles in its Convention. That is as good a protest as we want against the action of the World's or Half World's Convention. It is worth a thousand resolutions, and any testimony upon paper would have the effect of exasperating instead of healing. I approve of the action of this Temperance Convention, but at the same time temperance is not all, nor, with me, half. I look upon temperance as a pioneer work, and did I not see it being carried forward by other hands, I should abandon what I consider more important causes; because I conceive that this one, must go in advance of them. But I conceive that this Convention is more important than theirs, and I do not wish to say before the world, that we adjourned a Woman's Rights Convention, to attend a Temperance Convention. There are thousands to aid the temperance cause, there are only scores to aid this. We have an abundance to do in these three days of our being together. I came to attend this Convention, and not a Temperance Convention, because I consider this cause the most important. It is known that I am identified with the Anti-Slavery cause. A warm friend said to me as I left home, "How can you leave the Anti-Slavery cause, to attend that Convention?" My reply was, that however important the Anti-Slavery cause, I consider this still more important. I have devoted the best part of my life to a portion of humanity; I want now to devote a few days to the whole of one-half of the world.

MISS E. C. WRIGHT.—I am very anxious that this invitation should be accepted. I know that many of us have come from a distance, yet we came because we wanted to do good, and if we find we can

accomplish a greater good by attending that Convention, than by staying here and talking about it, I think we ought to do it. When we have been thrown out of the temperance work, as in New York, by some of our brothers, and when others of them offer us some reparation, we ought to meet them half way and accept. We ought not so give the world cause to think that we are so exacting that we will accept of no propitiation for evil that has been done us.

MRS. ROSE.—Solomon says—and it is a good saying, not because it came from him, but because it *is true*—‘There is a time and a season for everything.’ A time and season has been appointed for a Woman’s Rights Convention. We might congratulate ourselves that man has advanced so far as to invite a Woman’s Convention to attend his Convention ; but surely it will not advance our cause to adjourn sooner, in order to meet his advances. We can do good by going to that Convention no doubt, but to do a thing well, we ought to do one thing at a time. Here are our resolutions, and do not let us give the world the example that Women’s Rights women and men can adopt the practice of politicians—advertising a meeting at one hour, and then if you go there, you don’t find them.

MRS. MOTT.—I would say that the *Convention* has not fixed the time of meeting. I dislike changeable women as much as anybody can.

LUCY STONE.—We have had Women’s Rights Conventions repeatedly, and we always find that as the days go on the interest deepens, and we find that many persons have not had time to say what they wish to say. This grand movement reaches round this wide world. It aims to make the race better, not only, but the individual freedom of all more expanded, and more secure. The term to which we have limited ourselves, will not be too much I know to accomplish our own work. I thank that Temperance Society for being willing to rebuke the action of the “World’s Convention”; and when Mrs. BLOOMER goes there to speak to them and for them, it seems to me to be as good a recognition of their courtesy as we can afford to give. I hope, therefore, that when we do adjourn, it will be to two o’clock.

The question being thereupon put to the house, was decided in the negative, and the Convention adjourned accordingly to 2 o'clock.

## AFTERNOON SESSION.

The proceedings of the morning session having been read by one of the Secretaries, the following resolutions were presented by Mrs. ROSE on behalf of the business committee :

1st. *Resolved*, That by Human Rights, we mean natural Rights, in contradistinction to conventional usages, and that because Woman is a Human being, she *therefore* has Human Rights.

2d. *Resolved*, That because woman is a human being, and man is no more, she has, by virtue of her constitutional nature, equal rights with man ; and that state of society must necessarily be wrong, which does not, in its usages and institutions, afford equal opportunities for the enjoyment and protection of these Rights.

4th. *Resolved*, That the common law, by giving the husband the custody of the wife's person, does virtually place her on a level with criminals, lunatics and fools; since these are the only classes of adult persons over which the law-makers have thought it necessary to place keepers.

5th. *Resolved*. That if it be true, in the language John C. Calhoun, that " he who digs the money out of the soil, has a right to it against the universe," then the law which gives to the husband the power to use and control the earnings of the wife, makes robbery legal, and is as mean as it is unjust.

6th. *Resolved*, That woman will soonest free herself from the legal disabilities she now suffers, by securing the right to the elective franchise—thus becoming herself a law-maker—and that to this end we will petition our respective State Legislatures to call conventions to amend their constitutions, so that the right to the elective franchise shall not be limited by the word " male."

7th. *Resolved*, That there is neither justice nor sound policy in the present arrangements of society, restricting women to so comparatively a narrow range of employments; excluding them from those which are most lucrative; and, even in those to which they are admitted, awarding them a compensation less—generally by one-half

or two-thirds—than is paid to men for an equal amount of service rendered.

8th. *Resolved*, That, although the question of the intellectual strength and attainments of woman has nothing to do with the settlement of their rights, yet in reply to the oft repeated enquiry: "Have women, by nature, the same force of intellect with man?" we will reply—that this enquiry can never be answered till women shall have such training as shall give their physical and intellectual powers as full opportunities for development, by being as heavily taxed, and all their resources as fully called forth, as are now those of man.

Moved and seconded that these resolutions lie over for discussion.

Miss LUCY STONE.—I move that those who cannot subscribe to these resolutions come forward and oppose them.

Mr. JOSEPH BARKER.—I rise to bespeak a candid hearing, whether in favor or in opposition, to this movement. All great and important questions ought to be discussed with sobriety and gravity. No attempt ought to be made by any individual, to prevent the discussion. Every attempt to gag men, and to frown down any principle, as well as every attempt to shame the advocates of any principle from their propriety, by ridicule, ought to be met with prompt resistance, and stern indignation. It does not become man either to attempt to silence his brother man, or to prevent any sentiment of his brother man from receiving that consideration which is due to it. It is not only unjust but foolish to attempt to prevent it. It cannot be done. Those points which are not thoroughly investigated now, will be investigated sometime. A thorough winnowing will take place. The precious must ultimately be separated from the vile; and it is vain for any individual to attempt to prevent the separation. It is wise when questions come up, to consider them at once, to endeavor to dispose of them fairly, without any trick or attempt at postponement. It would have been well for the world, if some questions had been settled before they were; and perhaps it will be well for the world, if the questions that are now coming up, be discussed and honestly settled at once.

The question before us on the present occasion appears to be one

of the greatest importance. It affects one half of the human race directly, and the other half indirectly, and it bears upon the most important interest of the whole human race. The parties who are first and most directly interested in this important question, are the female portion of our race. This fact ought of itself to secure especial respect to this question, and peculiar honesty and fidelity in endeavoring to bring the question to a happy issue. It is true that a considerable portion of those who are first and most directly interested in this question, are not themselves aware of its importance. They have not yet been brought to understand the question in which their interests are involved. There are others however who are awake to its importance, and who claim that it should have the attention of both the male and female portions of mankind, and that it should be honestly discussed.

However other men may feel, I do myself feel, that it would be most unmanly to refuse this claim, to take the question up in a fair and honest manner, and endeavor to bring it to a proper solution. This, I believe, is all that the women of this country and the women of the world ask—They ask no more in the first place, than that they may be heard; and that in turn, may be heard, what may be said, on the opposite side of the question. They have faith that if men discuss this matter, the establishment of the truth will be the result. If it should be found that they claim any thing which is unreasonable, they only wish to have it shown to be unreasonable, in order to give up their claim. They do trust on the other hand, that if what they claim is reasonable, those who have opposed them, will acknowledge *their* error, and do the “better half” of the world justice.

I have spoken about meeting this question with ridicule. Attempts have been made to meet it, in different places, in this manner. When I have read the remarks which have been made in other parts of the country, my spirit has burned with indignation, at the manner in which this subject has been treated by large classes of people, and by persons too, who ought to have been examples of candor and of gravity. It is no reason for ridicule, that the demand put forth by woman, is somewhat new; nor because so small a portion of women have joined in the demand; much less because the world has for so long a period

acquiesced in the present state of things. Many other things have been acquiesced in by the whole human race for ages, which afterward were discovered to be unreasonable and injurious; and many things now are regarded as perfectly right and proper, which were once outrageous and intolerable. He is an exceedingly foolish man who imagines we have reached perfection, and that the reforms effected by our predecessors, have left no reforms to be effected by us. It is a fact, that not only in past ages have the most foolish and preposterous notions and usages prevailed, but also at this very hour similar notions prevail, and effect most injuriously great masses of mankind. It is worth while to refer to a few of them. It may assist us perhaps in enlightening the opposers of our movement, and induce them to suspect themselves, and to feel that in favoring the present state of things and resisting this woman's rights reform, they are assisting to continue the most egregious errors, and the most cruel wrongs. I will refer to a few things that are now what they ought to be, or very nearly so, and yet which were once denounced and ridiculed.

From time immemorial it has been the custom for the dying father to leave to his eldest son the whole, or the greater part of the property, and to leave little, or very little, to the younger children. This right of primogeniture was established in the earliest times, and remains undisturbed in some countries to this day; and some people now wish it were recognised in this republican and democratic country. In England the estates pass without question, to the eldest son. Nothing is left to the younger sons and daughters; and the man who lifts up his voice against it, is persecuted. Indeed, there are those who have been imprisoned for no other reason than endeavoring to bring about a reform in this matter; yet what is more unreasonable, than that such an abuse should be continued? This law gives the most to the man who needs the least; and to those who need the most, not a farthing. The time will come, when this law will be regarded, as we regard it—a most preposterous error and injustice; because, it puts first what ought to be last, and last, what ought to be first.

There is another thing, not exactly established by formal law in this country, but it is an undisturbed custom in other countries. What could be more reasonable, than that he who cultivates the farm, should



be the first to reap. The ox which treadeth out the corn ought not to be muzzled; and those who make the clothes, should be first clothed. Those who cultivate the Earth, should be the first fed; yet hitherto throughout the world, it so happens that the men who do nothing, get the largest incomes. The persons who produce, are the deepest sunk in poverty, and those who produce nothing, are the richest. This will be regarded as one of the most monstrous of all usages, and loud calls will yet be made for its reform; and when it shall be effected, mankind will look back with shame at having tolerated such an anamoly so long.

In England the heaviest taxes, have to be paid by the poorest people, and the lightest, by the wealthiest. Those who have all the lands, pay few taxes, and those who have no lands, pay the heaviest. Only about one tenth of all the taxes come from the aristocracy, who own all the land. The taxes are a portion of the wealth of the country, and the only persons who produce that wealth, are those who work with their heads, their hearts, or their hands.

You will see then, that the position of woman bears a great resemblance to the position of the workers and producers of the world. You will see too, that woman has as much right to complain of her position with regard to man, as the younger sons and daughters of England, have a right to complain of their position with regard to the eldest son. Does man need greater privileges, greater power for his protection than woman? Is he in greater danger of being robbed or injured by woman, than woman is by man? Is she secure, and he insecure; or rather would the interests of man be less secure, if woman had a share of power; or would the interest of woman herself, be less secure, if she shared the power with man? Men are constantly boasting that they are the stronger sex, and are accustomed to speak of woman as the weaker vessel; we grant it and because she is the weaker vessel she must be protected. Man is the stronger party, therefore must he have all the privileges in order to be secure in his strength? Woman has no privileges, and must she be left unprotected altogether? The demand she makes, that man should share his power with her, is as reasonable as the demand which is now made by the younger sons and daughters of England, that the law of primogeniture shall be abolish-

ed, and the property be distributed with something like equality between the children. To me it appears manifest that woman both *needs* equal rights with man, and that she *deserves* them. That she needs them, is acknowledged by man, every time he speaks of woman as unequal with himself.

The rich man's wealth is itself power, and will generally secure him from danger. The poor man has no protection, except in political power, and he above all others should have political power. So with respect to woman—the fact that woman is physically weaker than man, is the very reason why she should have more political power than man, rather than that she should be deprived of civil influence and power altogether. Not only does woman need this protection, but she deserves it. She has contributed to the happiness of the race. She has done her duty nobly. I believe in every past age and in every land, that woman will be found on comparison with man to have filled her place more creditably; and acted out her nature, and served the world more effectively, than man. She has certainly not done one half the mischief; and I believe she is not only better with respect to sins of omission, but also in respect to sins of commission as man has excelled her in power. Attend the missionary and Bible societies; attend their social parties when they meet together for raising funds, and you will always hear compliments and thanks passed upon woman, for her particular attention to this and that department. You will always hear with respect to the followers of Jesus, that “woman was last at the cross and first at the tomb;” that she contributed most to his support, and that when the men and all his apostles were forsaking him in the hour of danger, woman still stood by him, neither actuated by cowardice nor treachery. You will read in books how she has distinguished herself; and people will tell you that they cannot do without woman in this or that department; and that if you can only get woman to work in any cause, its success is secured. I say you hear of these things constantly. If they speak lies, then they are worthy of all the contempt you can visit upon them; but if they speak truth, they should be ashamed of withholding her rights. After having been entitled to them from the first, and deprived of them so long and shown herself so superior to man, then shame on him who can for

another moment think of withholding them, and especially shame on those who can treat woman's demand with scorn or indifference.

Woman can be safely trusted with her rights. When different classes of the community put in their claim for liberty, or their share of power, some people hesitate to grant the claim, on the pretense that if the power be granted, it will be ill used. It is on this pretense, that the ruling classes of the old world refuse the elective franchise to the people, You will be told that they have no stake in the interests of the country, and that if they obtain power, they will use it against the country. This is the constant objection in Ireland and Great Britain, and other countries in Europe. If there were any just grounds to fear that woman would use power for evil purposes, the objection would be worth considering; and then the question would be how the granting of her rights could be secured against abuse. But does any one believe, that if women were placed on a legal equality with man, she would really abuse her privileges? Have men any reason to believe that woman would injure them, in case she were permitted to share the elective franchise with them? It appears to me, that they have nothing of that sort to apprehend. I am not afraid to state my own conviction, that woman may not only be securely, but most advantageously trusted with whatever power man possesses.

I have often said that the real reason why the ruling classes in the old world will not yield their rights to their subjects, is, not that they are afraid that they will make a bad use of them, but that they will make too good a use of them. The working classes have always shown themselves more in favor of a good cause, than the ruling classes: and when the ruling classes have refrained from doing harm, it has generally been because they were afraid of the working classes; and they know that if the working classes had the power, they would establish right in many cases; would establish just and salutary laws, and that they would overturn corrupt institutions, and establish better in their stead. The ruling classes have so many corrupt interests, that they are afraid of the working classes having power, for fear that they will do justice to the long blinded and tortured of their race.

Now if men have any fears with respect to the use which woman may make of that increased power which they demand, my impression

is that the object of their dread is not some evil that she may do, but some good. There cannot be a doubt that woman would be sure to go against the drinking usages, and against the dirty traffic in tobacco and snuff, and in favor of reform in health; and doubtful as the men are ever likely to be, they cannot doubt that woman will be as forward to oppose any aggressions upon human rights; any interference with human liberty, as man can be. The little power that woman has had, she has used creditably, and that gives us reason to suppose, that she will know how to use greater power, that she would use it with equal credit, for all just and beneficent purposes. I could myself trust the country as confidently in the hands of women, as in the hands of men. I could more securely trust the governing power, in the hands of woman, than in the hands of man. Not only has woman never so greatly abused the power she has had, but she has given us evidence to show that she has been incapable of abusing it, to the same extent that men have, in almost all ages.

I know that it is frequently objected, that the interests of men and women are so much the same, that women's interests are secure in the hands of the men. But those who make this objection to her claim for equal rights, do not make good their case. The interests of woman are not safe in the hands of man. They ought to be, but they are not. Man ought to prove that he has respected the rights of woman in the past, but he cannot prove it. I should at once plead guilty to unparalleled wrongs against woman. The position of the world to this present hour, shows that woman has been wickedly betrayed by man, and that he has failed in his duty most egregiously. Look at woman's interests and rights as they exist to-day, and see if she has been safe in man's keeping in times past. Take the matter of property. Is it shown that woman's property is as safe in his keeping as in her own? Has man, when he has taken woman in marriage, always shown a jealous regard for his wife's right, to her personal property, to her earnings, or her estate? Has he shown an anxiety to secure every particle of her property to herself, and to dispose of it according to her wishes? It may seem almost folly to ask such questions. In cases innumerable, man has shown the worst forms of selfishness, imaginable, and has treated woman with the worst conceivable cruelty.

When a man finds himself possessed of the person of his wife, then he has her property. The law offers the greatest temptation to the meanest of mankind, to plot the ruin of women. Man knows that if he can induce woman to submit to the marriage ceremony, he can obtain her property, and then if he can induce her to leave him, or if he can kill her quietly, the property remains to him, and nobody can dispute it. What is the result? A race of men known all over the world as "fortune hunters" has sprung up, and these men are the meanest of their race; hypocritical, making deceit an art, a study, a perpetual labor. They set themselves to work to find what unmarried females are possessed of property, intrigue to get introductions to them, and, with all kinds of protestations of adoration and sometimes "crocodile tears," they endeavor to convince their victims that they love them most devotedly, and cannot live without them. They succeed at length, for women who do not practice deceit themselves, are least suspicious of it in others. It frequently happens, therefore, that the very best of women fall into the hands of the very worst of men, and cases do occur where men obtain the person and property of women for no other purpose than to indulge their vices at their legal wives' expense; and so long as the law continues in its present state, we may expect these most distressing cases to frequently occur. It requires a woman to be somewhat wicked herself to suspect men. The best education we can give woman to secure her against the deceit of such practised villains, is no safeguard. There is no remedy, then, but to give her the legal ownership of her own property, the same as man. This at once removes the temptation which has given birth to so many crimes against woman. Then, if a man should turn out bad after he has become the husband of a woman of property, it still leaves the woman in possession of whatever she had at the time of marriage, and enables her to make the best of her unhappy situation.

Woman's Rights, then, have not been safe in man's keeping. Give woman her rights; make her not the master of man, but man's equal. Take away the lordship from both, and then, men who have wives, will take care to treat them in a manner calculated to make them good wives, and keep them so, to the end of the chap.

ter. The fact is, that if man had no regard for anything but the true interests of woman, he would never wish to have power over her, and would wish her to have her share of power. The man who is most anxious to have more power than is his due, is most apt to abuse it; and the very fact that men wish to get possession of power, proves that they are not fit to have it; and the man who would best use power, is the very man who would shrink from assuming it. The man who is least fit to trust with your money, is the man who is most anxious to get hold of it. The most upright men do not like to be in debt, though conscious of their own integrity. They are more afraid of some casualty which would injure those who have trusted them.

The man who is conscious of wishing to do nothing but justice, wants no power over woman, and does not wish to have her at his feet. The man who wishes woman to be prostrate before him, may justly be suspected of wishing to trample upon her. I am afraid the opposition we sometimes hear to woman's claims, originates, not in a regard for woman, nor in a fear that she would injure herself, or any body else, but in an unworthy feeling, a discreditable wish to control an individual as deserving as he himself can be.

I did not rise to make a speech. I rose simply to bespeak a candid consideration for whatever may be advanced. We wish all to state their views. Many persons when they begin to teach, instruct themselves as well as others; and I think if you undertake to put your arguments against Woman's Rights, into shape, you will be very much dissatisfied with them, and throw them away. If not, however, you will discover that if, unaided, you could not find out their falsity, such aid will be rendered by those on the other side, as will leave you no desire to repeat your arguments. Nothing suffers by discussion. Nothing is in danger, but error. Truth bears all kinds of friction, and will only shine the more for being burnished. The head of gold will never break; it is only the feet of iron and clay that will crumble. If you have a thought and think it gold, out with it, that it may be stripped of its disguises, that all may be benefited by the exposure.

Mrs. E. L. ROSE.—You have many arguments, my friends,

of expediency and policy presented, why woman should be heard; why her claims should be examined; why her rights should be given her; and yet many, many more might be adduced why it should be done. But there is one argument, which in my estimation is the argument of arguments, why she should have her rights, not on account of expediency, not on account of policy, though these, too, show the reasons why she should have her rights; but we claim—I for one claim, and I presume all our friends claim—our rights on the broad ground of *human rights*; and I for one again will say, I promise not how we shall use our rights. I will no more promise how we shall use our rights, than man has promised, before he obtained them, how he would use his rights. We all know that rights are often abused; and above all things have human rights in this country been abused, from the very fact that they have been withheld from half of the community. To this effect I will read our first resolution, and then speak to the subject.

*Resolved*, That by Human Rights, we mean Natural Rights, in contradistinction from conventional usages, &c.

Upon that ground we claim our rights, and upon that ground our rights have already been conceded by the Declaration of Independence, in that first great and immutable truth which is proclaimed in that instrument, "that all men are created equal," and that therefore all are entitled to "certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." Our claims are based upon that great and immutable truth, the rights of all humanity. For is woman not included in that phrase "all men are created free and equal"? Is she not included in that expression? Tell us ye men of the nation, ay, ye wise law-makers and law-breakers of the nation, whether woman is not included in that great Declaration of Independence? And if she is, what right has man to deprive her of her natural and inalienable rights? It is natural, it is inherent, it is inborn, it is a thing of which no one can justly deprive her. Upon that just and eternal basis do we found our claims for our rights,—political, civil, legal, social, religious, and every other.

But, at the outset, we claim our equal *political* rights with man, not only from that portion of the Declaration of Independence, but

from another, equally well established as a principle in this country, that "taxation and representation are inseparable." Woman, everybody knows, is taxed; and if she is taxed, she ought to be represented.

Upon this just ground I will simply here throw out a statement of these principles upon which our claims are based; and I trust each separate resolution will be taken up by this Convention, fully canvassed and commented upon, so as to show it not only an abstract right, but a right which can be wisely made practical.

Woman is taxed, therefore she has a right to be represented. Again, it is acknowledged in this country, and it is eternally true, that "all the just powers of government are derived from the consent of the governed." If so, then, as woman is a subject of government, she ought to have a voice in enacting the laws. If her property is taxed to maintain government, she ought to have a voice in forming that government. If she has to pay taxes to maintain government, she ought to have a voice in saying how those taxes shall be applied.

On these grounds we make our claims, on natural, humane, eternal and well-recognized laws and principles of this Republic. On these grounds we ask man to meet us, and meet us in the spirit of inquiry, in the spirit of candor and honesty, as rational and human beings ought to meet each other, face to face, and adduce arguments, if they can, to convince us that *we are not* included in that great Declaration of Independence; that although it is a right principle that taxation and representation are inseparable, yet *woman* ought to be taxed, and ought not to be represented; and that although it is an acknowledged principle that all just power of government is derived from the consent of the governed, yet *woman* should be governed without her consent. Let them meet us fairly and openly; let them meet us like rational men, men who appreciate their own freedom, and we will hear them. If they can convince us that we are wrong, we will give up our claims; but if we can convince them that we are just in claiming our rights, as they are in claiming theirs, then we expect them, in a spirit of candor and honesty, to acknowledge it.

But by all means let them come forward in a spirit of candor and



truth. Let them lay aside sophistry and misrepresentation; for it is a disgrace to any man to bring forth no other arguments but the coward's weapons, slander and derision. Oh man, can you look your fellow beings in the face, and not blush to think that a question of such vital importance as that of *Human Rights*, should be met in no better spirit than that of ridicule and derision? But that derision harms not our cause. No good cause has been injured by such weapons. If I regard it at all, I regard it mostly for the sake of those who make it; for none such weapons can reach us; they fall harmless at our feet. We claim our rights because we ought to have them, and because we have been deprived of them; and we call upon man to justify that great violation in depriving us of our full share of privileges, emoluments and honors, which society can justly bestow upon man. I, for one, do not deny, that if it is honorable for *man* to be great, it is equally honorable for *woman* to be great; and my definition of greatness consists in *goodness*; for no man can be great, unless he is good.

Therefore I claim all my rights without a single distinction. I claim my political right to vote, so as to know whether measures brought before the public, will, or ought to be, sustained, or not,—so as to vote for them if they are good, or to vote against them if they are bad; ay, and *if found desirable* by myself and others, to be voted for, myself. I claim my rights without distinction of sex; for I go upon the broad basis that human rights acknowledge no sex; humanity acknowledges no sex; mind acknowledges no sex; virtue and vice, life and death, pleasure and pain, acknowledge no sex. Alike all come into existence; alike all are subject to the vicissitudes of life; alike they are subject to penalty for breaking the laws of their being, or the laws which govern society; alike they possess a three-fold organization, physical, mental, and moral, upon the proper cultivation of which, depends their happiness.

Upon these reasons again, I claim the full rights of woman, that she may be enabled to receive that kind of education which shall best develop her various powers—her natural capacities; her mind, her moral nature, and her physical strength. I claim these rights to enable woman to place herself, after she has received an education,

in the position which her natural powers best fit her to occupy. I claim woman's rights, to enable her to pursue her happiness precisely in that direction, which to her, would appear the best calculated to promote it, without let or hindrance from man. I claim her right to have a hand in enacting the laws, for until she has that, the laws will be wrong. Woman will ever be wronged, she will ever have injustice done her, until she has a voice and a hand in enacting the laws which govern her; for it is the grossest violation of human rights to enact laws and enforce them upon others who have never sanctioned or consented to them. Here, in this country, it is considered wrong to enact laws and enforce them against another nation; and it is wrong; but not so great a wrong as to enact such laws between the sexes.

Is woman alike human with man, or is she not? I would say to our opponents, *choose your alternative*; say yes, or no, and we are willing to abide the consequences. Is she equally a human being with man? Is she like him in all the requisites to promote usefulness, and health, and happiness? Then has she the same rights he has, and it is wrong to enact laws without her concurrence, and enforce them arbitrarily against her. Is she *not* the same—is she altogether a different being? If you say, yes, again I will abide the consequences, and will say, in the name of Justice, how *can man* legislate for a being whose nature he does not understand, whose motives he does not appreciate, whose feelings he does not realize? How can he rightfully legislate for a being entirely different from himself? So that, whether we consider woman identical in her nature with man, or entirely different from him, neither view interferes with the great question of her rights.

On account of all these reasons, I claim these rights for woman; for she will never have justice done to her in the ordering of the government, in the enacting of laws, and in the various branches of society connected with human welfare, until they are conceded to her. These are my reasons, and I presume they are *our* reasons, for claiming these rights. Man has been accustomed, instead of looking these things in the face, of treating them on the principle of expediency. Even upon that principle, (if it be worthy the name of prin-

ciple) we could show him, that had we no higher or nobler ground for our claims, they could be justified. We could prove that on account of the subjection of woman to man, on account of that great violation of her rights, she has been kept in a state of slavery, weakness, and helpless dependence, which has had a most pernicious and terrible effect, not only upon woman, but upon man. We might simply call to mind the fact that the woman,—in as far as she is the true woman,—in the relation of wife, mother, and daughter, just so far is her influence upon society more potent than that of man. We could prove that until woman has her rights, until all her powers are developed, and she herself allowed to assume her proper position,—ay, my friends, to move in her "*proper sphere*,"—she cannot have that influence in society which she would have, and which she should have.

Much is said about "the sphere of woman." Our opponents tell us that woman ought to "remain in her sphere." I say so too, with this addition,—Let her first be *placed* in her sphere. And as to being placed in it, who shall do it? Can one human being place another in his sphere? I say, No. What, then, can place a being in his proper sphere? His own tastes, his own energies and powers, his own inclinations and attractions. If properly developed, unrestricted, untrammled, they, and they alone, can rightly place a being in his proper sphere. And it is precisely to have woman in her proper sphere that we claim her rights; for now she is *not in* it, but *out of* it. She does not even know what it is. We wish to give her all the advantages and rights society can bestow; and then she can prove her own sphere. It will not require man's commands and arbitrary laws to place her there. As water, under its own natural law, finds its own level, so will woman, as well as man, find her proper level.

I know the popular objections against us—I cannot term them arguments—for they do not deserve that title. They are not arguments, they are not reasons; they are simply the emanations of long prejudice, and this is the best and most charitable term I can apply to them. "Why, woman have her rights! Perfectly outrageous! Would you have her come in contact with vulgar men, at the polls

and in out-door life? Why, who ever heard of it? She would be contaminated"! Is this deplorable statement true? Can man behave no better than this, even during the short space of time when he is acting strictly as a citizen of the republic? Can he not, during that time, behave so manly as to make it quite proper and safe that woman should accompany him, and that, too, without danger of having her fine sensibilities shocked by the contact with him? I have a better opinion of man than he has of himself. I believe it is quite practicable for man to go and deposit his vote, by the side of his wife, daughter, or mother, without endangering her refinement or feelings in any shape or manner. But if it is the case that he cannot behave manly for so short a space of time, then is there an additional reason for woman to have her political rights, that her presence and example may here, as it has ever done elsewhere, teach him better manners, and train him to a higher manliness.

These I now urge, are reasons of expediency—I have given you some reasons based upon the solid principles of justice and humanity. I speak now of some reasons of expediency, why woman should be recognized as equally entitled to rights with man. Wherever it is right and proper in the performance of duty for man to be, there woman may rightly be also; for duty, like all our moral obligations, recognizes no sex. Human rights are for all, just as that glorious luminary, the sun, shines alike for all. It would be no more inconsistent to hide a portion of the sun, lest it might shine on woman, than to deprive her of her share in government, education and everything that society can bestow.

I say only give us our *rights*. That act of justice will open to us all avenues to emolument. It will call out our powers, and give us an object for which to live. Man cannot exert his powers without an object, and the greater and more distant that object, the more it is magnified, and the more he is inclined to exert his energies, and apply his forces for its acquirement. Until now, on account of the injustice done to woman, in depriving her of her rights, she has had no object, or the most limited or contracted ones, for which to exert her powers; and therefore, they have to a great extent, remained dormant, have not been called out. As man must have an object in life, and that

object suited to his especial nature, so woman must find the object of her existence. And if she is recognized as equal with man, in freedom and rights; and if she can acquire all the arts and sciences as undisturbed and unrestricted as he, a new and most noble field of action will be open to her. She, too, will behold from a distance the great leading star of her human life, and will be able to increase greatly, human happiness. She will perceive not only that she is a wife, mother, daughter and sister, but she will perceive, in addition to all these—and in my estimation, the greatest and noblest of all—that she is also a member of the human race. That great and noble idea, of being a full member, an equal member of the human race, will strengthen her powers and lead her on to actions such as have never been known, not only in woman but in man.

For, my friends, the subjection of woman has caused, to some extent, the subjection of man; for no one can be truly free, so long as he enslaves another. So long as man has deprived woman of her natural rights, he has never known how fully and best to use and prize his own. When woman has her rights, when both have equal rights, the race will advance far beyond the present stage of human greatness, human development, and human ability. For all these reasons combined, we are claiming our just rights.

Something has been said about the laws of our country. How are the laws formed? If I understand rightly the object of laws, it is to protect the weak against the strong, the innocent against the designing—it is in fact to do justice to those who are deprived of justice. If this is the true, legitimate purpose of laws, then I ask, in the name of justice, do we carry it out? How do the laws stand with reference to men and women, particularly after marriage? Man is stronger and more experienced because he has more advantages; and yet the law protects him, and either neglects her, or goes entirely against her.

We are told by Blackstone—and so we believe it should be—that the husband and wife are one. But *are they* one in law? Does the law *practically* recognize husband and wife as one? What does it mean by one? Does it mean one and the same in interest; that what belongs to one, belongs equally to the other? That both have

the same objects, the same aims, the same interests? If it does mean that—and in my estimation it does—then, I say, carry it out in practice. Make the laws accordingly. But how are the laws now? Why, they give all the property to the husband only. They practically say, that although the husband and wife are one, yet that one, in right, is the husband. In regard to property, no matter how much may have been accumulated, nor by whom accumulated; no matter if the wife may have done the most toward it, yet, in the eye of the law, she has no right to it, without the consent of her husband.

It is against these gross injustices that we stand up here to protest, to demand that justice be done. I trust the time will soon come when it will not only be recognized in the theory, but in the practice of the Law and of the Gospel, that husband and wife *are one*—one in sorrow and in joy, in grief or in happiness. Then will laws be alike for both, if indeed they then need any law.

When man and woman unite themselves as husband and wife, and give their hearts and heads and hands to the work of accumulating wealth, or prudently preserving what has been already acquired, the wife should have the same right to the full free use of what they thus acquire, as the husband. When the wife dies, she should have the same right to make a will, and give the property to whomsoever she deems proper. If the husband dies, the wife should have the same right to all he leaves, and to freedom from the interference of strangers, that the husband has when she dies. And when two beings are so unfortunate as to find, that instead of promoting each other's happiness, they have made that most unfortunate mistake of promoting only each other's misery, that the law of love which should bind the husband and wife, is wanting,—when in fine, it shall be deemed necessary that they shall separate, then, I say, the wife should have a perfect right, to at least, one-half the property, and her own children. I ask no more, and will be content with no less. I ask simply justice; I claim only equality for my sex; and until I can be shown that our arguments, are not deduced from self-evident truths, based upon rights inherent in humanity, and consistent with strict justice, I for one will urge them until they shall be acknowledged.

For after all, in this country, public opinion, to a very great extent,

rules everything. The individual man is here, the true sovereign, although his representatives frame the laws. We therefore hold Conventions to define our claims; to point out the injustice of withholding our rights, and to correct public opinion in favor of justice and humanity that so we may obtain them.

We have already ventured upon political action in the form of appeals to our Legislators. By the constant and fearless exertions of a few, petitions have been sent to the Legislatures of several States, to procure enactments allowing married women to hold their own property by inheritance, or bequest, or their own individual toil before marriage. This fragment of rights has already been granted as a result of such petitioning in my own State, (New York,) and is also the law now, in several other States. But this does not cover the whole ground by any means—allowing women only to hold the real estate they bring to the marriage union, but not that which they may acquire or inherit afterwards. Moreover we claim not only the right of woman to make herself independent in the accumulation of wealth, and in keeping it after it is accumulated, but above all these, we claim the right to her own person. For here lies the corner stone of all the injustices done woman, the wrong idea from which all other wrongs proceed. She is not acknowledged as mistress of herself. From her cradle to her grave she is another's. We do indeed need and demand the other rights of which I have spoken, but let us first obtain *ourselves*. Give us ourselves, and all that belongs to us will follow. We claim that no lawmaker, man or husband, shall control woman except as man allows himself to be controlled.

I hope the time will come, when all those petty objections raised against our claims—that woman can not be the equal of man in freedom and rights, because she happens to be feebler in physical strength; because she has not performed such great and mighty deeds; because she has not as yet attained to the same eminence—will all vanish forever, and when it will be perceived that such objections have no foundation in reason. Go to the South, to your slaves, and ask them, why *they* do not prove great intellectual powers by great intellectual deeds. Just as consistent is it, to assert now that woman is intellectually inferior to man. Had she the same advantages, were

her powers and faculties equally called out, would it be so? No! never! And yet, in spite of all obstacles, she does not fall short in intellect, compared to man. I do not know but that woman, under similar advantages and organization—and woman has an organization intellectually like man—I do not know but that she, too, could perform brave deeds. I claim my equal right so to do. And, in conclusion, I trust we shall illustrate not only the justice of our claims in what we may have to say and do; but, since man is governed in some degree by policy, the policy and expediency also, of granting us full freedom with our brothers.

MR. H. B. BLACKWELL.—MRS. President: In one of the letters read this morning, it was suggested that Woman's cause should be advocated by Woman only. The writer of that letter is a true friend of this reform. And yet I feel that I owe you no apology for standing on this platform. But if I do, this is sufficient, that I am the son of a Woman and the brother of Women. I know that this is their cause, but, I feel that it is mine, also. Their happiness is my happiness, their misery, my misery. The interests of the sexes are inseparably connected, and in the elevation of the one, lies the salvation of the other. Therefore, I claim a part in this last and grandest movement of the Ages; for whatever concerns Woman, concerns the Race.

In every human enterprise, the sexes should go hand in hand. Experience sanctions the statement. I know of but few movements in history, which have gone on successfully, without the aid of Woman. One of these is war—the work of human slaughter. Another has been the digging of gold in California. I have yet to learn what advantages the world has derived from either. Wherever the sexes have been severed—in politics, in business, in religion—the result has been demoralization. Therefore, I claim that this is my cause—is that of every man in the State of Ohio, and of this whole country.

I propose to speak more particularly to the sixth resolution. It affirms the right of woman to the elective franchise, and the propriety of her exercising it.

That women have been, and still are wronged by unjust legislation, no candid and earnest man, who is acquainted with the facts, can



doubt. Her rights of person and of property, are restricted. Both the written law of your statute books, and the unwritten law of public opinion, stand opposed to her interests. Why is this? Because Woman has been precluded from a voice in the government. A distinction, unreasonable and indefensible, has reduced her to political nonentity. And when she marries, she loses her legal identity also, and is scarcely recognized as a moral agent, except as amenable to punishment.

The law, if it be good for anything, should protect the weak against the oppression of the strong; but, in the case of the wife, it reverses that principle, and deprives her even of those safeguards which Nature has conferred. We find, indeed, some slight distinctions between the States in this respect; yet in all, the general principle of the law is the same. When a woman marries, all her rights become merged in her husband. What was her's, becomes henceforth his; and what was his, remains his own. The law constitutes him the guardian of her person. She can neither sue nor be sued in her own name. For the most flagrant personal outrage, she can only obtain redress by the act and consent of her husband. Her children are in no sense legally her own. She enjoys their society only by her husband's permission, and subject to his caprice. Should he will the separation, he may take them from her. However superior in culture, in intelligence, in character, in all the qualifications to educate them, she may be, she is subject to this legal kidnapping of her children. As regards the tyranny of her husband, she is scarcely more protected in her right to them, than is the southern slave; and women are frequently thus deprived of their offspring. Yet, if indeed one parent can justly claim pre-eminence of right in the child, it is the mother. It is bone of her bone, flesh of her flesh, a very part and parcel of her being, and it is a terrible thing thus to expose her to an unmerited severance of the sacred ties of maternity. Will it be said, that such cases are comparatively rare? Perhaps they are, but no thanks to the law! Yet if there had been but *one* case in the United States—if there had *never* been one case, and still there existed the *possibility* that there might be one, we should look into the future and protect the mother from torture worse than death.

Until you give woman the right to her children, every mother in America is liable to such a fate.

But even the widow is not safe. When the husband passes into the other world, if he is wicked, or weak enough, he can deprive her of her children, for he can reach back from beyond the grave, and, by means of this unjust power which the law gives him, can will that her children shall be taken from her, even when he is justified by no dereliction of duty on her part.

The laws of property are just as bad. If a woman at marriage own personal, or any other kind of property, except real estate in fee simple, it becomes absolutely her husband's, liable for his debts, to be disposed of as he chooses; and when he dies, it passes to his heirs, and is taken forever from her control. Real estate in fee simple, though the title remains technically her's, becomes virtually his also. The total income, as fast as realized, remains his for life; so that, while he lives, she can never be one cent the richer for its nominal possession. At his death, his property goes to his heirs and does not return to her, but in its stead she holds a pitiful life interest only in one-third of his real estate, provided he leave any.

A wife has no legal right to her earnings. She may labor to support her offspring, and when she goes, at the end of the week or month, to draw the proceeds of her half-required toil, the husband may have anticipated and taken them from her.

Thus, if a woman with property, marry, no matter whether she earned or inherited it, she becomes a pauper, dependant upon her husband, or after his death upon her children, for the clothes she puts upon her back. Nobody can honestly say that such laws as these are anything better than legalized robbery.

And yet when women ask a voice in the selection of the men who have made, and still maintain these laws, they are told that they are meddling with matters which do not concern them!

"But why do you not confine your attention to the specific injustice, and ask for the reform of the laws in these respects?" ask the opponents of this movement; "why claim to vote?"

Go ask the prisoners of his Holiness, the Pope, as they languish amid Roman dungeons, and mutter with quivering lips the sacred

words, "Freedom" and "Mazzini" in the ear of God, why they long for the key that can open the iron door of their sacerdotal sepulchre!

Ask the miserable Koszta, half-drowned, half-strangled, in the hold of the Emperor's frigate, why he invokes the stars and stripes of Republican America to wrap him in their folds, and save him from an Austrian scaffold!

Ask the hunted American fugitive, as he flies from his kidnapper across the soil of our own Ohio, why he turns his back upon those stars and stripes, to fix his eager eyes on the red-cross banner of St. George!

We ask the right to vote because it is the key to all other rights. We embody in this claim the idea of Human Rights, irrespective of sex. There is no hope of getting justice, except by claiming absolute equality before God and the law. We base our claim upon the principles of the Declaration of Independence. The experience of ages proves that no interests, not directly represented in government, ever get justice. Where, in the history of the race, did a class legislate for wider interests than its own? When, since the commencement of the world, did the Despot look beyond his own selfish aims, to build up the power of an Aristocracy? When did an Oligarchy ever labor earnestly for the elevation of the People? Do you tell me, that the interests of the sexes are, after all, identical, and therefore, that men will protect women? Why, if they only knew it, the interests of the aristocracy everywhere, are linked with those of the People. It is not for the real interest even of a class, that the People should be crushed down into serfdom. The class would gain by the development of individual energy, and the accumulation of national wealth. But selfishness is proverbially short-sighted. It is indeed for the interest of man that woman should obtain her rights. Yet it is contrary to experience to expect that man ever will be able so to comprehend her, as to do justice to her interests. The existence of the present laws, proves that you cannot entrust the interests of woman to man. These very laws have been put upon your statute book by husbands and fathers, and yet they do not woman jus-

tice. Knowing the past, we do not believe that male Legislators ever will.

There is one other class only, beside woman, which in most of the States is excluded from the franchise—the free colored population of the country. What is their condition? Even pro-slavery men lament the disabilities which weigh so heavily on these unfortunates. Why, then, are their claims unheeded? Because they are precluded from the ballot-box. It is because politicians cannot hope to obtain votes by appealing to the colored population. Hence their interests are neglected. Compare the condition of these people in Massachusetts, where they have a vote, and in Indiana, where they have none, and you will find it true, that substantial justice goes hand in hand with political privilege. So it will be with woman. Just so soon as politicians can make something by advocating her rights, they will ransack the statute books, and there will be a strife among political parties to see who can do the most to ameliorate her condition.

But there is another reason why woman should have a voice in public affairs. History teaches us that if there be one thing for which woman is peculiarly fitted, it is for the art of Government. For, in no country but republican America, has woman been entirely excluded from politics. It is a singular fact in the annals of almost every country of Europe, that perhaps the most illustrious monarch, the one who has done most for the aggrandizement of the nation, has been a woman.

To begin with England. Look back from the woman who now sits upon the throne, through the houses of Hanover, Stuart, Tudor, York, Lancaster and Plantagenet, to the Norman Conquest. Trace back still further the lines of Dane and Saxon till you reach the glorious name of Alfred. Where is the monarch of them all who can compare, for an instant, with Elizabeth? Her reign is the golden age of English history. She passed from a prison to assume the control of a nation embittered by religious feuds, and rent by civil commotion. She restored order, established unity, and made her country the protector and champion of Protestant Europe. In spite of excommunication abroad, and treason at home, she maintained herself in that position against the giant power of Spain, while, year

after year, the forces of banded Europe hung hovering around that little isle. With the aid of illustrious statesmen, whom her sagacity placed in power, she drove back the surges of invasion; and we are here to-day, free to discuss the rights of woman, because there was a woman then upon the throne of England, to defend religious liberty against the oppression of Catholic Europe.

It was a woman who furnished Columbus with the means of discovering this continent, when not a king in Christendom would venture upon the enterprize; and, while America stands, a living monument of the liberality of a Spanish Queen, it comes with a bad grace from Americans, to say that the intelligent and educated women of this country are not as fit to choose their own rulers as an Irish or German immigrant.

With a single exception, the greatest monarch who ever sat upon the throne of Austria, was a woman. How is it that Francis Joseph has had power to put his yoke upon the neck of nations? Because a woman, his ancestor, sat upon that throne when it seemed about to be overthrown forever. Had it not been for the genius of Maria Theresa, the house of Hapsburg would have been swept away, and there would have been no Austria, and no Kossuth! You remember how, when the neighboring powers had combined to divide the empire between them, and even her own nobles had deserted her, that heroic woman fled into Hungary, and presenting herself before the turbulent Diet, holding her child by the hand, appealed to them for help. The fierce barons yielded to her eloquent appeal. Fired with a sublime enthusiasm, which none but a woman can arouse, they all drew their swords as one man, exclaiming, "We will die for our king, Maria Theresa!"

While I speak, Russia is gathering her armies around the frontiers of Turkey, and threatens to annex Constantinople and the Mediterranean. Europe looks in terror at that grisly power, which casts its black shadow over a hemisphere. Do you ask me whence proceeds this colossal fabric of organized barbarism? I tell you, that, more than to any others, it is due to the genius of two women. It was the first Catharine, herself originally a slave, who influenced the Czar Peter to the great measures of policy which laid the foundation of

that power. Her history, is that of Russia. But for her, the energetic but savage and brutal Peter might never have been called "the Great." And but for the second Catharine, who cemented the work of her predecessors, and sent forth that great warrior and great villain, Suwarrow, the present Nicholas would never have attained the eminence which threatens to swallow up civilization.

Look at the history of France. In spite of the Salic law, which excluded women from the succession, how often has that country been virtually ruled by women. Joan of Arc was really the greatest monarch who has ruled there since Charlemagne. There was a time in the outbreak of the French revolution, when the hopes of the friends of Humanity bade fair to be realized. Let me remind you, that that time was when Madame Roland drew around herself all the strength of the Girondist party. Her house was the center where the best and wisest men of France delighted to assemble. American statesmen, resident then at Paris, united in ascribing to this noble woman a character as spotless in its purity, as it was imposing in its intellect. And the demagogues who drowned liberty in a sea of blood, instituting that "reign of terror" which reacted in a military despotism, could not crush the Republic, until they had trampled the head of Madame Roland in the bloody mire of the guillotine.

When woman has done such great deeds in the old world, amid almost insurmountable obstacles and a thousand disadvantages, how strange it seems, that man should be so blind to the facts of history, as to say that the women of intelligent America are unfit to go to the ballot-box, to give their voice in the selection of their rulers.

Woman needs the elective franchise to destroy the prevalent sentiment of female inferiority. It is this almost universal prejudice which has created our unjust laws and customs. It is this, which shuts her out from the professions. It is this, which excludes her from the ballot-box. *This contempt for woman pervades society like an atmosphere.* I heard it well expressed, while traveling this summer in Indiana, by a little knot of villagers who were discussing "Uncle Tom's Cabin." They all agreed that it was a great work, but maintained stoutly that it could not have been written by a woman. They decided that its author was, of course, a man—probably Professor

Stowe himself, who, being unwilling to be known, had given her the manuscript to publish in her own name. That same prejudice exists in the mind of almost everybody. The customary epithet applied to an imbecile, incompetent man, is "old woman," or "granny." Now this prejudice, like every other, is probably the expression of a half truth. There can be no doubt but that, at present, women, as a class, are actually intellectually inferior. How can it be otherwise? By the usages of society, a girl is systematically deprived of the facilities of mental growth. She is secluded from the world. Her range of observation and experience is limited. She is reared in habits of indolence and dependence. She is deprived of every stimulus to earnest effort and thorough culture. If she is not a poor girl, doomed to a life of drudgery, she has absolutely nothing to do. Machinery has superceded the spinning wheel and knitting pins. It is fast doing away with the needle. What shall we give her in their stead. Her very dress is characteristic of her condition. The infant wakes up to find herself cramped in mind and body. How can she realize a noble standard of development?

This question of dress seems a small matter to many. Perhaps comparatively it is so. Most people seem to adopt the maxim, "any person is badly dressed whose dress causes remark." And yet, so closely connected is mind and matter, that even dress has its importance. He who has ever spent a busy day upon our city pavements with a pair of tight boots upon his feet, can appreciate this. And so let me say a word in this connection, about "the short dress" which at present causes so much remark. When I first heard about it, it commended itself to my reason. But when I first saw it, I confess my tastes recoiled from the novelty. I felt a shock, in spite of myself, as a figure, which seemed neither man nor woman, approached me. I feel so no longer. I do not indeed stand here to advocate this or any other kind of dress. If a lady should advise me as to mine, I should feel myself competent to manage that matter for myself. But I do advocate the right of every woman to the exercise of a similar liberty. I protest against the storm of sneers and ridicule which has assailed this reform in dress, as unreasonable and unjust. I say to the gentlemen who feel squeamish on this sub-

ject—If you would “conquer your prejudices,” do as I once did when a boy. I borrowed my sister’s dress and petticoats, and tried to walk about in them. I never shall forget the experiment. I can truly say, “the sensation was awful.” I never before was in such “a fix,” and hope I never may be again. Certainly I would not accept life on such conditions, and am sure that my constitution could not bear up under the infliction. Women are said to be physically weaker than men, and if *we* could not endure such a life-long incubus, I am puzzled to know how they get along with it. And when, in addition to the inconveniences of the ordinary female dress, we are told by competent physicians that half the diseases of women are traceable, directly or indirectly, to its use, manly men should cease to ridicule “women in trowsers,” and should feel that those who do so, meddle with what does not concern them, and are themselves somewhat “out of their sphere.”

Is it any wonder that women suffer, thus fettered and confined from the cradle to the grave; taught that it is indelicate to be active, and mannish to be intelligent; that young ladies should laugh under their breath; and that “little girls should be seen and not heard”? As they grow up, shut out from all active employments, what do these young ladies find to occupy their minds? Activity of some sort the soul must have, and

“Satan finds some mischief still  
For idle hands to do.”

So they fall in love before they are out of their teens, and from sheer vacuity get married, when, even in a physical point of view, marriage is a monstrosity and a crime. Thousands thus become wives and mothers, when unable even to appreciate those sacred responsibilities. Ignorant of themselves and others, blind leaders of the blind, they soon find themselves bound by entanglements which the strength of a Hercules and the wisdom of a Solomon would hardly suffice to surmount. Condemned to hopeless imbecility of body and immaturity of mind, they make nothing but mere wives and mothers, and very poor ones at that. The consequences are what we might expect.



As we walk through our cities and villages, we are forced to exclaim with Alexander Smith—

“In the streets this tide of Being—how it surges, how it rolls!  
God! what base, ignoble faces! God! what bodies wanting souls!”

Where you find an individual who rises to distinction, you find there an exception. He comes from a man and a woman who have been true to the physical laws of God, and false to the artificial customs of society.

The physical deterioration of our people is a fact universally acknowledged and lamented. When we compare this puny generation with our hardy forefathers, we ask, “Where will it end?” When we see Englishwomen of middle age come to this country, with their large well-developed forms and ruddy complexions, able to walk ten miles and think nothing of it, and contrast them with our city belles with their hectic hot-house bloom at sixteen, and their wrinkled ugliness at thirty-five, we feel keenly that something must be radically wrong in the habits of our people. Now we may trace a part of the evil to the use of alcohol, tea, coffee and tobacco; to the licentiousness of young men, and to the enervated habits of city life; but it does seem to me, that the greater part of it, is owing to these early marriages, without strength of muscle or of brain. There should be new channels opened for the thoughts of young women. They should be trained for an active, independent life, before and after those years when children are to be reared. They should be taught, that it is a crime to enter into marriage bonds before they are properly developed.

What we all need, men and women alike, is a higher standard of character. To this end, we call attention to the rights of woman. We would awaken loftier conceptions of womanhood. And, when we get this better public sentiment; when we recognize in the case of women, as we all do in that of men, that their powers can never be developed except by exercise in the active pursuits of life,—feeling this, we shall be willing to open one door after another, and to see them take their place in all branches of industry, in art, in science, and in the professions. Thank God! we already see her in the pulpit, and we shall shortly see her at the lawyer's bar, and on the Judge's bench. We shall see her to a very great extent, in the pos-

session of the profession of medicine. We shall see her in the store, in the counting-house, in the bank, and wherever men may go. Society will eventually recognize the principle that no place is fit for man, which is not also fit for woman. There will be but one code of morals, and of taste. Women will acquire the mental energy and self-reliance of man, and men will emulate the purity and religious sincerity of woman. This Woman's Rights movement is no abstraction. For not only are the present laws unjust, but public sentiment, the unwritten law of nations, is more unjust than they. We are content to be called "fanatics." It is necessary that there should be such—people who have a new idea in their heads. The more there are to preach woman's rights and duties, the better for society.

We do need higher views of marriage. There is scarcely a young man here, who does not hope to be a husband and a father, nor a young woman, but expects some day to be a wife and a mother. But who does not revolt at the idea of perpetuating a race inferior to ourselves? For myself, I could not desire a degenerate family. I would not wish for a race which would not be head and shoulders above what I had been. Let me say to men—select women worthy to be wives. The world is overstocked with these mis-begotten children of undeveloped mothers. No man, who has ever seen the symmetrical character of a true woman, can be happy in an union with *such*. Ladies! the day is coming when men who have seen more well-developed women, will scorn the present standard of female character. Will you not teach them to do so? You may have to sacrifice much, but you will be repaid. The history of the world is rich with glorious examples. Mary Wolstonecroft, the writer of that brave book, "The Rights of Women," published two generations ago, dared to be true to her convictions of duty in spite of the prejudices of the world. What was the result? She attained a noble character. She found in Godwin a nature worthy of her own, and left a child who became the wife and worthy biographer of the great poet Shelley. Let us imitate that child of glorious parents—parents who dared to make all their relations compatible with absolute right—to give to all their powers the highest development.

People say that a married woman cannot have ulterior objects; that her position is incompatible with a high intellectual culture; that her thoughts and sympathies must be restricted to the four walls of her dwelling. Why, if I were a woman (I speak only as a man), and believed this popular doctrine, that she who is a wife and a mother, being that, must be nothing more, but must cramp her thoughts into the narrow circle of her own home, and indulge no grander aspirations for universal interests—believing that, I would forswear marriage. I would withdraw myself from human society, and go out into the forest and the prairie, to live out my own true life in the communion and sympathy of my God. So far as I was concerned, the race might become worthily extinct—it should never be unworthily perpetuated. I could do no otherwise. For we are not made merely to eat and drink and give children to the world. We are placed here upon the threshold of an immortal life. We are but the chrysalis of the future. If immortality mean anything, it means unceasing progress for individuals, and for the race. We look forward to the time when, following the majestic figure of Christ, like a cloud by day and pillar of fire by night, we shall become as much greater than our present inadequate conception of Jesus, as that conception is superior to our present selves.

People say that happiness is the first object of human life. It is a false idea. Mere happiness, as such, is nothing to me. I want knowledge, I want intellect, I want power. If immortal life be true, every man and every woman is destined, under God and in the ages, to attain them.

Our present ideas of Deity are utterly insufficient. We cannot conceive nor comprehend His greatness. But I expect some day to become greater than my *present conceptions* of my Creator. I expect to climb the mountains continually, onward and heavenward, forever.

If, then, it be true, that any station in life is fatal to this glorious destiny for either man or woman, let us trample that station beneath our feet. We have no right to sacrifice our individual growth, for the sake of comfort and position. But, thank God, it is not so. A true marriage will involve no subjection. It will not limit thoughts, nor fetter activities. It will complete, not destroy, the individuality

of women. And no one has thoroughly fulfilled the law of his being, who has not fulfilled that relation. I know that true marriage is at present rarely realized. Many of us will never be able to attain it, condemned to live without society or companionship. Be it so ! Better live and die thus, than sacrifice the most high and sacred objects of existence.

Let us, then, make up our minds, that it is for the interest of woman, as of man, to develop all her powers. It is her own fault if she do not. She will succeed, if she is true to her highest standard of womanhood. It may be necessary to pass through storm and fire to accomplish it, and ages may elapse ere her rights are fully acknowledged. Yet, as generation follows generation, one will catch the falling standard from the other, and, as Mary Wolstonecroft and her daughter carried it forward for a season, so the women who are here to-day will take it up and bear it still further onward, until this Woman's Rights movement is lost in the final recognition of the inalienable rights of universal Humanity.

At the close of the foregoing able and admirable remarks, the Convention adjourned to 7 o'clock P. M.

#### EVENING SESSION.

Convention met pursuant to adjournment.

Mrs. Foster said she desired to repeat the invitation to any who opposed their movement, to take the platform at any time. The announcement of speakers for the evening was made, merely to assure the audience the time would be occupied, but regular speakers would at any time give way to other speakers. She desired it distinctly understood, that their platform was entirely free, and particularly to those who desired to oppose the Woman's movement.

Mr. Garrison said he did not appear this evening to make a speech, but merely to read some additional resolutions from the Business Committee.

LUCRETIA MOTT hoped, after the explanation of Mrs. Foster, that Mr. Garrison would not feel a reluctance in addressing the Convention. She would be glad to hear him.

Mr. G. replied that the resolutions would do for his speech to-night, and read as follows:

1st. *Resolved*, That the natural rights of one human being, are those of every other, in all cases equally sacred and inalienable; hence the boasted "Rights of Man," about which we hear so much, are simply the "Rights of Woman," of which we hear so little; or, in other words, they are the Rights of Humanity, neither affected by, nor dependent upon, sex or condition.

2d. *Resolved*, That those who deride the claims of woman to a full recognition of her civil rights and political equality, exhibit the spirit which tyrants and usurpers have displayed in all ages toward the mass of mankind—strike at the foundation of all truly free and equitable government—contend for a sexual aristocracy, which is as irrational and unjust, in principle, as that of wealth and hereditary descent—and show their appreciation of liberty to be wholly one-sided and supremely selfish.

3d. *Resolved*, That for the men of this land to claim for themselves the elective franchise, and the right to choose their own rulers and enact their own laws, as essential to their freedom, safety and welfare, and then to deprive all the women of all these safeguards, solely on the ground of a difference of sex, is to evince the pride of self-esteem, the meanness of usurpation, and the folly of a self-assumed superiority.

4th. *Resolved*, That woman, as well as man, has a right to the highest mental and physical development; to the most ample educational advantages; to the occupancy of whatever position she can reach, in church and state, in science and art, in poetry and music, in painting and sculpture, in civil jurisprudence and political economy, and in all the varied departments of human industry, enterprise and skill; to the elective franchise, and to a voice in the administration of justice, and the passage of laws for the general welfare.

5th. *Resolved*, That to pretend that the granting of these claims would tend to make woman less amiable and attractive, less regardless of her peculiar duties and obligations as wife and mother, a wanderer from her proper sphere, bringing confusion into domestic life, and strife into the public assembly, is the cant of Papal Rome as to

the discordant and infidel tendencies of the right of private judgment in matters of faith; is the outcry of legitimacy as to the incapacity of the people to govern themselves; is the false allegations which selfish and timid conservatism is ever making against every new measure of reform, and has no foundation in reason, experience, fact or philosophy.

6th. *Resolved*, That the consequences arising from the exclusion of woman from the possession and exercise of her natural rights and the cultivation of her mental faculties, have been calamitous to the whole human race; making her servile, dependent, unwomanly; the victim of a false gallantry on the one hand, and of tyrannous subjection on the other; obstructing her mental growth, crippling her physical development, and incapacitating her for general usefulness; and thus inflicting an injury upon all born of woman, and cultivating in man a lordly and arrogant spirit, a love of dominion, a disposition to lightly regard her comfort and happiness, all which have been indulged to a fearful extent, to the curse of his own soul and the desecration of her nature.

7th. *Resolved*, That so long as the most ignorant, degraded and worthless men are freely admitted to the ballot-box, and practically acknowledged to be competent to determine who shall be in office and how the government shall be administered, it is preposterous to pretend that women are not qualified to use the elective franchise, and that they are fit only to be recognized, politically speaking, as *non compos mentis*.

Moved and seconded that they lie over for discussion. After an excellent address by Mrs. Amelia Bloomer, (which, by her own request, is not published,) a suggestion was made that speakers be limited to fifteen minutes each.

Mrs. Mott. I would yield the floor to any one who has anything to say at this time, and would gladly do it. I approve of the suggestion which has been made, that we should be limited as to time, for we are such imitators of men and customs around us, that perhaps we may forget that we are not upon the floor of Congress, and so may inflict long speeches upon the people.

I am glad you have had presented before you, in the address you

have just heard, a synopsis of the laws in relation to women, and the sentiments of some of the commentators upon those laws ; and I want you to observe, (for it stands in proof of what our brother said this afternoon,) that there is a constant advance in truth, a constant uprising and appreciation of that which in the earlier days of an enterprise was not anticipated. So in this movement ; Blackstone stated what was then regarded Law, (for it did not then appear to be understood, although he too defined it,) as a "means of sustaining justice and the right"—but in giving a statement of what was Law, it was received by the people as tantamount to Gospel ; for Law and Gospel, Church and State, have been thus united. But it is to be broken up as regards woman, just as the religionists of our country have attempted to break it up, and have succeeded in the Church, as applicable to men. Our more modern expounders of the Law, in many cases, present to the public the degraded position of women in society, because of such enactments, claiming to be, *Law*.—Of these are a Hulburt, in an essay on Human Rights ; and a Walker, I think, who first presented the fact to the public—or to the reader, not so public as I wish it was—that the Law has made the man and wife one person, and that one person the husband ! and Mr. Hulburt has presented the condition of woman in a light which cannot fail to be striking to those who will read his essays.

Look also at the Philosophers of the present time, and the Revolutionists of the last upheaving in Europe. Why, when woman went forth at the last effort to establish a republic through the provisional government in France, and claimed to have equal representation with man, some of the greatest statesmen acknowledged the justice of her request, and responded to it, that she had sat in darkness long, that this claim of women would have to be respected ; that woman had too long been suffering under a night-mare of oppression. It was to me a striking comparison at the time I read it. The only cause of the failure of the revolution of 1779, was that it was represented by only one half of the intelligence, of the race—an intelligence differing it is true, in some of its peculiarities, but from that very difference calculated to form a truer republic. Victor Hugo in alluding to this effort on the part of woman for the redress of the wrongs and griev-

ances under which she had suffered, says, that as the last age was notable for the effort to gain Men's Rights, so the present generation would aim to create a revolution in public sentiment which should gain the independence of woman.

Now these steps are beginning to be followed out everywhere.—The Westminster Review, one of the cleverest journals in England, gave a very fair and interesting notice of the first National Woman's Convention in Worcester, and that article has been republished in this country in pamphlet form. There have been repeated notices also in the best of our own periodicals, encouraging women to go on and advocate their claims.

But, we are told sometimes that we are satisfied ; that it is not woman who is urging this movement, and that she really does not wish any change in society. Has the slave been oppressed so long that he cannot appreciate the blessings of Liberty ? and has woman been so long crushed, enervated, paralysed, prostrated by the influences by which she has been surrounded, that she too is ready to say she would not have any more rights if she could ? Why she does not know her position, and whereof she affirms. A clergyman in Auburn, N. Y., soon after the Syracuse Convention, delivered a sermon pronouncing it an infidel convention,—for you know that is the usual weapon of defence against whatever appears to conflict with accepted creeds. He said the ladies of *his* congregation, he was happy to state, were not sensible of any chains binding them, not sensible of any liberties taken from them. Now this is the common boast—there are persons in your own city who stated on being invited to come to this convention, that they had other engagements, they had to sew at the Home Missionary Society; and if they had not other engagements, they had all the rights they wanted, and did not care to come.

I heard not long since of some one who had several hundred acres of land left him by his father ; a friend was speaking to him about the profitableness of his estate ; he replied, the profits were not so great as might be supposed ; the expenses of the family were large, for he had to *keep his mother* a good many years, and she lived to be ninety years old ! He was asked if she were an active industrious



woman in her early days. O yes! in those days she was a very industrious woman. His Father and she commenced life poor, but gathered together this great estate by their united industry. How is it then that you can say that your expenses have been increased by having to keep your mother? He felt the rebuke much afterwards, and such was the impression it produced, and so great was the change in his views that in his will he recognized no difference between his sons and daughters. He saw the injustice of his past position, and was disposed to make some redress for the wrong done his own mother in making her, in her old age, dependent upon him.

Now, in this particular, there has been a great change in our country. The doing away the laws of primogeniture has opened the eyes of the people, to much evil on all sides, for we cannot begin to look at and redress any one of the wrongs done to mankind in the past, without being carried farther than we imagine, in our first attempt. It was a true philosophy that Jesus uttered, when he said "He that has been faithful over a little, shall be ruler over more."

It is for the following generation to go on and make yet other advance steps. Such advances are beautiful when we come to look at them. Those of the past have given some Theologians noble ideas ; they have come to have more expanded views and to rejoice in the belief of the continued advance of humanity. How much better the Theology which has resulted from these great movements. They have led us to read our Bibles better. Many cannot so read Christ, that progress is going to break up the foundations of society. Why, our own society which has been supposed to make greater strides than others, especially for the rights of man—and they have upon the questions of the ministry and the marriage covenant—has been affected by these advances. As regards the ministry, they did not see so clearly, that it must embrace women also. They took only the ground that ordination must not take the form of a human ceremony; that it was God alone who could appoint to the ministry. Well, they found that this God-ordination was manifest in their women also. They began to look at their Bibles, and found there that women were sent forth to minister to the people, as in ancient times. When Deborah was Judge in Israel, when the Captain would not lead the

army, and a woman had the glory of the conquests made. Again, when they were in exigency, they went to Huldah, and she counselled them.

It is not christianity but priestcraft that has subjected woman as we find her. The Church and State have been united, and it is well for us to see it so. We have had to bear the denunciations of these reverend (irreverend) clergymen, as in New York, of late. But if we look to their authority to see how they expound the text, quite likely we shall find a new reading. Why, when John Chambers returned to Philadelphia, from the World's Temperance Convention, at New York, he gave notice that he would give an address, and state the rights of woman as defined by the Bible. Great allowance has been made by some of the speakers in this Convention, on account of his ignorance, and certainly this was charitable. But I heard this discourse. I heard him bring up what is called the Apostolic prohibition, and the old Eastern idea of the subjection of wives ; but he kept out of view some of the best ideas in the scriptures.

Blame is often attached to the position in which woman is found. I blame her not so much as I pity her. So circumscribed have been her limits, that she does not realize the misery of her condition. Such dupes are men to custom, that even servitude, the worst of ills comes to be thought a good, till down from sire to son it is kept and guarded as a sacred thing. Woman's existence is maintained by sufferance. The veneration of man has been misdirected, the pulpit has been prostituted, the Bible has been ill-used. It has been turned over and over as in every reform. The temperance people have had to feel its supposed denunciations. Then the anti-slavery, and now this reform has met, and still continues to meet, passage after passage of the Bible, never intended to be so used. Instead of taking the truths of the Bible in corroboration of the right, the practice has been, to turn over its pages to find example and authority for the wrong, for the existing abuses of society. For the usage of drinking wine, the example of the sensualist Solomon, is always appealed to. In reference to our reform, even admitting that Paul did mean preach, when he used that term, he did not say that the recommendation of that time, was to be applicable to the churches of all after time. We

have here, I had liked to have said, the *Reverend* Antionette Brown. She is familiar enough with these passages to present some of them to you; for it is important when the Bible is thus appealed to, and thus perverted, that it should be read with another pair of spectacles. We have been so long pinning our faith on other peoples' sleeves that we ought to begin examining these things daily, ourselves, to see whether they *are* so; and we should find on comparing text with text, that a very different construction might be put upon them. Some of our early Quakers not seeing how far they were to be carried, became Greek and Hebrew scholars, and they found that the text would bear other translations as well as other constructions. All Bible commentators agree that the Church of Corinth, when the Apostle wrote, was in a state of great confusion. They fell into discussion and controversy; and in order to quiet this state of things, and bring the Church to greater propriety, the command was given out that women should keep silence, and it was not permitted them to speak, except by asking questions at home. In the same epistle to the same Church, Paul gave express directions how women shall prophesy, which he defines to be preaching, "speaking to men" for "exhortation and comfort." He recognized them in prophesying and praying. The word translated *servant*, is applied to a man in one part of the scripture, and in another it is translated minister. Now that same word you will find might be applied to Phebe, a Deaconess. That text was quoted in the sermon of John Chambers, and he interlarded it with a good deal of his ideas, that woman should not be goers abroad, and read among other things "that their wives were to be teachers." But the "wives" properly translated would be "Deaconesses."

It is not so Apostolic to make the wife subject to the husband as many have supposed. It has been done by Law, and public opinion since that time. There has been a great deal said about sending Missionaries over to the East to convert women who are immolating themselves on the funeral pile of their husbands. I know this may be a very good work, but I would ask you to look at it. How many women are there now immolated upon the shrine of superstition and priestcraft, in our very midst, in

the assumption that man only has a right to the pulpit, and that if a woman enters it she disobeys God; making woman believe in the misdirection of her vocation, and that it is of Divine authority that she should be thus bound. Believe it not, my sisters.—In this same epistle the word “prophesying” should be “preaching”—“preaching Godliness, &c.” On the occasion of the very first miracle which it is said Christ wrought, a woman went before him and said, “whatsoever he biddeth you do, that do.” The woman of Samaria said, “come and see the man who told me all the things that ever I did.”

These things are worthy of note. I do not want to dwell too much upon scripture authority. We too often bind ourselves by authorities rather than by the truth. We are infidel to truth, in seeking examples to overthrow it. The very first act of note that is mentioned when the disciples and apostles went forth after Jesus was removed from them, was the bringing up of an ancient prophesy, to prove that they were right in the position they then assumed. On the occasion when men and women were gathered together on the holy day of Pentecost, when every man heard and saw those wonderful works which are recorded. Then Peter stood forth—some one has said that Peter made a great mistake in quoting the prophet Joel—but, he stated that “the time is come, this day is fulfilled the prophesy, when it is said I will pour out my spirit upon all flesh, and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy” &c—the language of the Bible is beautiful in its repetition—“upon my servants and my hand-maidens I will pour out my spirit and they shall prophesy.”—Now can anything be clearer than that?

It has sometimes been said that if women were associated with men in their efforts, there would not be as much immorality as now exists, in Congress, for instance, and other places. But we ought, I think, to claim no more for woman than for man; we ought to put woman on a par with man, not invest her with power, or claim for her superiority over her brother. If we do, she is just as likely to become a tyrant as man is; as with Catherine the Second. It is always unsafe to invest man with power over his fellow being, “Call no man master”—that is the true doctrine. But, be sure there would

then be better rule than now; the elements which belong to woman as such and to man as such, would be beautifully and harmoniously blended. It is to be hoped there would be less of war, injustice and intolerance in the world than now. Things are tending fast that way, and I hope we shall all be prepared to act. These Conventions ought to give encouragement to the steps of advancement. Now that women are capable of reading, and beginning to be their own painters and historians, you see how much is brought out from history. I heard a lecture last year which astonished me with its number of remarkable women, not only in medicine, but in the Law and jurisprudence, farther back than the twelfth century—all this is encouraging women to go forward in this movement. Why only lately a woman stood forth in England, or France, and plead her own cause and gained it.

And the more her powers are cultivated, the more woman will see the light in which she has been regarded, and when she comes to unite herself in that most holy marriage relation, she will not submit to the authority the church now binds upon her. Women are bound by the church on one hand, and acknowledge subjection to the laws and to the husband under the church and the law, on the other part. I cannot bear to hear woman blamed. She is taught that she must promise that she will be obedient to her husband. I know some ministers now who make a little change in this respect. A minister said to me the other day, that he did not make the parties promise to obey. He used the word "dutiful," for the wife; "well then" I said, "you will make it apply to the husband also, will you not?" he replied perhaps he would hereafter.

I alluded to my own society making no difference between man and woman in the ministry and the duties of the marriage covenant. It seemed to be a great step for those early reformers, William Penn and George Fox, moving as they did in fashionable society, amid the universal veneration for power in that country. It was a great step for them to take—making the marriage relation entirely reciprocal—asking no priest to legalize their union, but declaring their own marriage, and themselves invoking the Divine aid.

When woman shall be properly trained, and her spiritual powers

developed, she will find in entering the marriage union nothing necessarily degrading to her. The independence of the husband and wife should be equal, and the dependence reciprocal. But Oh! how different now! The so-called church, and the state together, have made her a perfect slave. Talk of the barbarous ages! Why the barbarous ages are now! Even now, she may be yoked with the beasts of burthen in the field. In France, she loads herself most heavily with the baggage of passengers. The Irishwoman now goes about barefoot, the husband with shoes and stockings;—she with her child in her arms, he carrying nothing. I have seen these cases again and again in a little travel of a few months in the old world; and what might those see who go throughout the continent. Woman is not considered there as out of her sphere in pitching hay upon the stack; when the coach stops for relays of horses, the coachman does not leave the box, but a woman comes out and takes the four horses, leads them away, and returns with the other four from the stable. Talk of the barbarous ages! They are now!

Notwithstanding all these things, women in this country will not come to our conventions to hear Women's Rights. They may be the mere toys and playthings of society, and do not therefore feel these things. They can amuse their husbands, and brothers, and fathers by beautiful notes of music or by the dance, and I do not say that these things are not very well when practiced at home instead of in public places, and not continued till late hours of the night. When we consider the character of the romance, the sickly sentimental yellow covered literature that she reads, we cannot expect that she will be much. Then in other cases, she has too much to do to be a fine show. These are the extremes. We want woman to come forth and walk in a higher sphere than either of these. Let her come forth and fill it, and she will certainly show forth the beauty of higher aims in life. Why, to-day, a woman at one of your most respectable hotels, dressed in a fashionable manner, saw one of our women in the street dressed in a Bloomer costume. She tho't it "an insult to decency," and expressed herself very indignantly. But how was she dressed herself? Why, laced so tight that she could scarcely breathe,

and her clothes so long that when she went out into the dusty streets her garments formed a kind of broom to gather up the dust. *This is beautiful! This is fashionable!*

But blessed be the advance of the age, for it is teaching woman the principles of physiology. Many are going forth teaching this science to ears annointed to hear, and finding eyes skillful to see, and souls wise to so observe the Laws of health, that they may not be subject to disease, or require so much of miserable medical treatment. Then again many are availing themselves of the profitable occupations of society, in the way of mercantile business. In Phila. it is no uncommon thing to see women behind the counter. To be sure if they are only employed see the merchant can rob them of half their wages. But they are becoming capitalists, and setting up their own stores. In some of the works of the Artizan, in Jewelry, in Daguerreotyping, and in many other departments, women are coming forward and showing themselves apt scholars; that they can do something besides stitching wristbands and making samplers. In early days, how many hours were employed in making emery strawberries, in foolish fancy work, and in overworked samplers. Women are now beginning to learn that men can do without so much stitching. Indeed, so greatly is Discovery progressing, that machines are already doing a large portion of this work. A woman in the Crystal Palace sits by a sewing machine to show the visitors how one woman, in a day, can perform the work of thirty or forty women in the same time! On the Island of Nantucket—for I was born on that Island—I can remember how our mothers were employed, while our fathers were at sea. The mothers with their children round them—'twas not customary to have nurses then—kept small groceries and sold provisions, that they might make something in the absence of their husbands. At that time it required some money and more courage to get to Boston.—They were obliged to go to that city, make their trades, exchange their oils and candles for dry goods, and all the varieties of a country store, set their own price, keep their own accounts; and with all this, have very little help in the family, to which they must discharge their duties. Look at the heads of those women; they can

minge with men; they are not triflers; they have intelligent subjects of conversation.

This then is what we ask for woman, that she may be so prepared for life's duties, that she can fill her walk in life respectably, and show that she can be something more than a slave, on the one hand, or a toy, or an effeminate being on the other. She is giving the proof of this. She is doing this to-day. Go on then and encourage her, O ! my brothers. I have no idea that there is on the part of man, or the race, such a disposition to love the wrong, as many suppose. We have been so much accustomed to false Theology, that we might think the whole race were really fallen, if we did not *know* better. Why, this very afternoon, I heard quoted in the Temperance Convention—but there is no such passage in the Bible, “The heart of man is prone to evil, and that continually.”—Now we know that man is prone to good, and that continually. Job stated that “man was prone to *trouble*, as the sparks to fly upwards.” But how has Theology perverted it ! Man is prone to *evil* ! Why the very evils there are in society around us, are greatly mitigated by the goodness of heart, that is natural in man. His *inherent* love of justice, right, mercy, and goodness, are ever operating upon him, and leading him to act aright. Why is it that good works have such great success all over the world ? Translate that sermon on the Mount into all languages, and the response to it, is world wide. Why is it that HARRIET BEECHER STOWE has had such success throughout the wide world ? Because her work reaches the sense of right in the universal human heart.

Did ELIZABETH FRY, of England, neglect her family ? No ! After rearing her eight or ten children, she went forth and did the things that HOWARD did, and greater. See DOROTHEA DIX, and what a ministering angel she has been ! Look at the licentiousness of our own city of Penn, and see how MYRA TOWNSEND went forth and established a reformatory house for her sisters ; see how she gathered them there and improved their situations, and awakened in them a desire for a better life. The other day I had a letter from a young married woman, who told me she had heard a woman say that when she had eleven children, she had less trouble with them, than when she had but four, for as the older ones grew older, they were a help to her in



caring for the younger. She wrote to me putting five or six questions to me on the subject of woman's rights. She was going to deliver a lecture in Pennsylvania. She had had advantages that we did not have in our day. She had been a little accustomed to speak in public, and tho' she had the care of her little children, and with her own hands had to make the bread for a family of twenty, yet she was ready to do what she could. She had hard work to do where she lectured, for many of her auditors were ignorant Dutch women. Mrs. MOTT apologized for having occupied so much time and gave way to Mrs. EMMA R. COE, of Buffalo, whose name had been announced as one of the speakers for the evening, but who declined, because of the lateness of the hour ; after which convention adjourned to 10 o'clock, A. M., the following day.

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SECOND DAY—MORNING SESSION.

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The proceedings of the day previous having been read by the Secretary, letters were read by Mrs. SEVERANCE, from MARY B. BIRD-SALL, of Richmond, Indiana, Secretary of the State Woman's Rights Association, giving notice of the State Convention, to be held in Richmond, Oct. 12., and from PAULINA W. DAVIS, recommending monthly conventions for the coming year, throughout New England.

ANTOINETTE L. BROWN, read also the following letter from Wm. H. CHANNING, of Rochester :

ROCHESTER, N. Y., Oct. 3. 1853.

*To the President and members of the National Woman's Rights Convention :*

As I am prevented, to my deep regret, from being present at the convention, let me suggest in writing what I should prefer to speak.

First, however, I would once again avow, that I am with you, heart, mind, soul, and strength, for the EQUAL RIGHTS OF WOMEN. This great reform, will prove to be, I am well assured, the salvation and glory of this Republic, and of all Christian and civilized States.

"And if at once we may not  
 Declare the greatness of the work we plan,  
 Be sure at least that ever in our eyes  
 It stands complete before us, as a dome

Of light beyond this gloom,—a house of stars  
 Encompassing these dusky tents,—a thing  
 Near as our hearts, and perfect as the heavens.  
 Be this our aim and model, and our hands  
 Shall not wax faint, until the work is done."

The Woman's Rights Conventions, which, since 1848, have been so frequently held in New York, Ohio, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, &c., have aroused respectful attention, and secured earnest sympathy, throughout the United States. It becomes the advocates of the Equal Rights of Women, then, to take advantage of this wide spread interest and to press the Reform, at once, onward to practical results.

Among other timely measures, these have occurred to me as promising to be effective.

I. There should be prepared, printed and widely circulated, A DECLARATION OF WOMEN'S RIGHTS.

This Declaration should distinctly announce, the *inalienable rights* of Women :—

1st. AS HUMAN BEINGS,—irrespective of the distinction of sex—actively to co-operate in all movements for the elevation of mankind.

2nd. AS RATIONAL, MORAL AND RESPONSIBLE AGENTS, *freely* to think, speak and do, what truth and duty dictate, and to be the ultimate judges of their own sphere of action.

3rd. AS WOMEN, to exert in private and *in public*, throughout the whole range of Social Relations, that special influence which God assigns as their appropriate function, in endowing them with feminine attributes.

4th. AS MEMBERS OF THE BODY POLITIC, needing the protection, liable to the penalties, and subject to the operation of the LAWS, to take their fair part in Legislation and Administration, and in appointing the makers and administrators of the Laws.

5th. AS constituting ONE HALF OF THE PEOPLE of these Free and United States, and as *nominally*, Free Women, to possess and use the power of VOTING, now monopolized by that other half of the people, the Free Men.

6th. AS PROPERTY HOLDERS, numbered and registered in every census, and liable to the imposition of town, county, state and national taxes, either to be represented if taxed, or to be left untaxed

if unrepresented, according to the established precedent, of "*No Taxation without Representation.*"

7th. AS PRODUCERS OF WEALTH, to be freed from all restrictions on their industry, to be remunerated according to the *quality* of the work done and not the *sex* of the workers ; and whether married or single to be secured in the ownership of their gains, and the use and distribution of their property.

8th. AS INTELLIGENT PERSONS, to have ready access to the best means of culture, afforded by Schools, Colleges, Professional Institutions, Museums of Science, Galleries of Art, Libraries and Reading Rooms.

9th. AS members of Christian churches and congregations, heirs of Heaven and children of God, to preach the truth, to administer the rites of Baptism, Communion and Marriage, to dispense charities, and in every way to quicken and refine the religious life of individuals and of society.

The mere announcement of these Rights, is the strongest argument and appeal that can be made, in behalf of granting them. The claim to their free enjoyment is undeniably just. Plainly such Rights are inalienable, and plainly too, Woman is entitled to their possession equally with Man. Our whole plan of Government is a hypocritical farce, if one half the people can be governed by the other half without their consent being asked or granted. Conscience and common sense alike demand the Equal Rights of women. To the conscience and common sense of their fellow-citizens, let women appeal untiringly, until their just claims are acknowledged throughout the whole system of legislation, and in all the usages of society.

And this introduces the next suggestion I have to offer.

II. FORMS OF PETITION should be drawn up and distributed for signatures, to be offered to the state Legislatures at their next sessions. These petitions should be directed to the following points :—

1st. That the right of suffrage be granted to THE PEOPLE, universally, without distinction of *sex* ; and that the age for attaining legal and political *majority*, be made the same for women as for men.

2d. That all Laws relative to the inheritance and ownership of

property, to the division and administration of estates, and to the execution of Wills, be made equally applicable to women and men.

3d. That mothers be entitled, equally with fathers, to become guardians of their children.

4th. That confirmed and habitual drunkenness, of either husband or wife, be held as a sufficient ground for divorce : and that the temperate partner be appointed legal guardian of the children.

5th. That women be exempted from taxation, until their right of suffrage is practically acknowledged.

6th. That women, equally with men, be entitled to claim trial before a jury of their peers.

These petitions should be firm and uncompromising in tone ; and a hearing should be demanded before Committees, specially empowered to consider and report upon them. In my judgment, the time is not distant, when such petitions will be granted, and when justice, the simple justice they ask, will be cordially, joyfully rendered.

I call then for the publication of a DECLARATION OF WOMEN'S RIGHTS, accompanied by FORMS OF PETITIONS, by the National Woman's Rights Convention, at their present session. In good hope,

Your friend and brother,

WILLIAM HENRY CHANNING.

MISS BROWN remarked, There is one of these resolutions, the fourth, which for myself, I should prefer to have amended thus—instead of the word "divorce," I would insert "legally separated"—The letter otherwise meets my most cordial and hearty approbation.

Mrs. MORR proposed the adoption by the Convention of the original Declaration of rights issued by the first Woman's Convention at Seneca Falls, N. Y., and moved that it be read. She thought its adoption would be but a fitting honor to her who initiated these movements in behalf of woman in our country, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, of Seneca Falls.

### DECLARATION OF SENTIMENTS

*Put forth at Seneca Falls, N. Y., July, 19th and 20th, 1848.*

WHEN, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one portion of the family of man to assume among the people of the earth

a position different from that which they have hitherto occupied, but one to which the laws of nature, and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes that impel them to such a course.

We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men and women are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. Whenever any form of Government becomes destructive of those ends, it is the right of those who suffer from it, to refuse allegiance to it, and to insist upon the institution of a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly, all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their duty to throw off such government, and provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of the women under this government, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to demand the equal station, to which they are entitled.

The history of mankind is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations on the part of man toward woman, having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over her. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has never permitted her to exercise her inalienable right to the elective franchise.

He has compelled her to submit to laws, in the formation of which she had no voice.

He has withheld from her rights which are given to the most ignorant and degraded men—both natives and foreigners.

Having deprived her of this first right of a citizen, the elective franchise, thereby leaving her without representation in the halls of legislation, he has oppressed her on all sides.

He has made her, if married, in the eye of the law, civilly dead.

He has taken from her all right in property, even to the wages she earns.

He has made her, morally, an irresponsible being, as she can commit many crimes with impunity, provided they be done in the presence of her husband. In the covenant of marriage, she is compelled to promise obedience to her husband, he becoming, to all intents and purposes, her master—the law giving him power to deprive her of her liberty, and to administer chastisement.

He has so framed the laws of divorce, as to what shall be the proper causes of divorce, in case of separation, to whom the guardianship of children shall be given ; as to be wholly regardless of the happiness of women—the law, in all cases, going upon the false supposition of the supremacy of man, and giving all power into his hands.

After depriving her of all rights as a woman, if single and the owner of property, he has taxed her to support a government, which recognizes her only when her property can be made profitable to it.

He has monopolized nearly all the profitable employments ; and from those she is permitted to follow, she receives but a scanty remuneration.

He closes against her all avenues to wealth and distinction, which he considers most honorable to himself. As a teacher of Theology, Medicine or Law, she is not known.

He has denied her the facilities for obtaining a thorough education—all colleges being closed against her.

He allows her in Church as well as State, but a subordinate position, claiming Apostolic authority for her exclusion from the ministry, and with some exceptions, from any public participation in the affairs of the Church.

He has created a false public sentiment, by giving to the world a different code of morals for man and woman, by which moral delinquencies which exclude women from society, are not only tolerated but deemed of little account when committed by man.

He has usurped the prerogative of Jehovah himself, claiming it as his right to assign for her a sphere of action, when that belongs to her conscience and her God.

He has endeavored in every way that he could, to destroy her confidence in her own powers, to lessen her self-respect, and to make her willing to lead a dependent and abject life.

Now, in view of this entire disfranchisement of one half the people of this country, their social and religious degradation—in view of the unjust laws above mentioned and because women do feel themselves aggrieved, oppressed and fraudulently deprived of their most sacred rights, we insist that they have immediate admission to all the rights and privileges, which belong to them as citizens of these United States.

In entering upon the great work before us, we anticipate no small amount of misconception, misrepresentation and ridicule ; but we shall use every instrumentality within our power to effect our object. We shall employ agents, circulate tracts, petition the State and National Legislatures, and endeavor to enlist the pulpit and the press in our behalf. We hope this Convention will be followed by a series of Conventions, embracing every part of the country.

Firmly relying upon the final triumph of the Right and the True, we do this day affix our signatures to this declaration.

MRS. GAGE :—There are some errors in this declaration, it seems to me, which should be corrected before it can go out as an accurate statement of facts at this day. One is, that no colleges exist which give to woman equal opportunities with man. I am informed that such is the case at least in one instance, and that is at Oberlin, in this state.

MRS. CLARK, of Ohio :—I have no objection that this document should go abroad to the world as a Parody upon the declaration of our Fathers, for I believe, we, as women, have far more reason for complaint, than had the colonists of England's oppression. But then I am not willing to say, in so many words, or to imply, that man has intentionally done these wrongs. Individual men, I believe, have become insensible to them, because they have descended to them from barbarous days and become now, part of the established order of

things. I do believe, that now, candid and sensible men, are far more willing to be just to woman, than she is to be just to herself, or her own sex.

LEWIS BRUTIS, of Rochester, N. Y. : — At the time that declaration was written, there was hardly a college in the land, which would admit women to its classes. And there is none now, so liberal as Oberlin ; and yet, although they would permit MISS. BROWN to study there, they would not give her the diploma, or title of D. D., they bestow upon the graduating class of the other sex : so that I believe what was said in that declaration, in reference to colleges then, is true of colleges still.

ANTOINETTE L. BROWN : — I wish, in justice to Oberlin, to say, that the Faculty of Oberlin, do not give titles at all, or at least, not that of D. D., and yet I cannot say that the Institution at Oberlin, is one which recognizes the equality of woman. She cannot be disciplined there in elocution ; if she graduate there, cannot read her own graduating address and cannot graduate from the Theological course.

Much as I owe to Oberlin, and deeply as I realize what I owe, it is due to that Institution, that these facts should be made known, for they have the credit with many, of recognizing full equality between the sexes in the matter of education, at least, and they do not wish that credit. There are Institutions however, where woman's equality of rights, is fully admitted. One of these is at McGrawville, N. Y. I visited that Institution, and have found that it practically recognizes humanity, without distinction of color, or sex. The new college at Antioch, will be one also, which will recognize the equality of all.

One word in reference to this declaration of sentiments. I have no objection to its being re-printed and sent out by this Convention ; but is it, after all, a full declaration of sentiments ? It does not strike me, as being so emphatic a declaration of Woman's Rights, as the letter itself, of MR. CHANNING. We get them there more distinctly stated, than in the parody on the declaration.

MRS. ROSE : — An objection has been made with regard to the statement in this declaration of independence. that there were no liberal colleges, or no institutions of learning, which recognized the co-equality of man and woman. I do not know of any which now so recog-



nize it. There are some, I know, that go a great way in admitting woman, and in giving her some of her rights, and I presume the one at Oberlin is among them, and probably among the first. I hope it will be understood that we state the broad facts of the case. We generalize, and have nothing to do with exceptions, even if they exist, except to rejoice in them.

But again, something was said by one of my sisters, with regard to the statement, that man purposely played the tyrant over woman. I trust that it is well understood—if not, I will repeat it as one of my views and principles, and I presume it will not be too presumptuous, to say, it is the principle of all the friends who advocate this cause ; we do not fight with man himself, but only with bad principles. Man is inconsistent, and he has been made, through that inconsistency, tyrannical. Man has been unjust, because bad laws always will make bad men. We have had bad laws, hence man has been bad ; but so thoroughly good is human nature, that in spite of bad laws, man is not as bad as he might be, under them. We make no complaint against individual man, for he is under the laws of the past ; and humanity does not allow him to carry out, to the full extent, the bad provisions of the laws under which he lives. You will say, these laws were made by man. True ! but they were framed in ignorance, ignorance of the ultimate end or aim of the human being, man or woman, and ignorance of the relations of the sexes. They were sanctioned by superstition and enforced by power. This is an additional reason why we wish all these laws altered, for it can be no otherwise than inconsistent, when one half of the race, frame laws for the other half. Man is not now, in the full sense, man ; any more than woman is, in the full sense, woman. It requires both to enact rational and proper laws for the rational government of both ; and this is the reason why we claim our rights fully, fearlessly and entirely.

I blame no one. My creed is, that man is precisely as good as all the laws, institutions and influences, operating upon his peculiar organization, allow him to be ; and therefore I see an additional reason and feel an additional motive, to point out the evils in our present laws and institutions. For so long as they are wrong, man will act unjustly ; therefore we must have them altered. Remove the causes

that produce transient effects, and the effects will not exist. But I heartily endorse the proposition offered here, to come forth with a declaration of sentiments. I second it as no less great, noble, and important, than the first honorable declaration of Independence ; those great immutable truths which have gone forth all over the world, and have given to man hope, and life, and light. Yes, this declaration of woman's independence, is even more far-sighted and sublime. For although truly a result of that declaration itself, it was never before dreamed that woman would be included in it. Is it not obedience to old laws, received from old and barbarous ages, and tyrannical lands, which has prevented, hitherto, the application of that declaration, to woman ? And while they continue to sustain and execute the laws which oppress half the race, this new declaration, based upon the self-evident truths of the old declaration, is of paramount importance.

I also approve of the letter of MR. CHANNING. I revere MR. CHANNING, although I do not name him, *Reverend*. I thought that in a republican country, titles would not exist. A title never can honor a man, but a man may honor the station which a title attempts to indicate. I agree almost entirely with that letter—nay, entirely. I only differ from the remark afterward made by my friend, ANTOINETTE L. BROWN, with regard to altering that part which says, that habitual drunkenness should be a reason for divorce. She thought it should be only a cause for legal separation. I would ask her if such legal separation should have the same force as a divorce ?

MISS BROWN :—It should not allow the parties to marry again.

MRS. ROSE. What constitutes marriage ? The violation of that, whatever it is, is a sufficient ground for a legal, social, and entire separation between them ; and that is divorce. But, I will not enter upon the discussion of that subject, at present. I trust it will come up during this Convention, or, if not here, during some other of our Conventions ; for it is of vital importance. We must come to it, we must face it. I know well and have known it for years, that this subject will encounter more prejudice and in consequence more difficulties than any subject hitherto brought before the public ; and hence it is all the more necessary to meet, and discuss it. It lies at the foundation

of things, and whenever it is brought up and I have an opportunity, I will speak more on the subject; but here I must leave it.

I wish to read a passage which has been already read in this Declaration of Independence. To me, it is beautiful, because it is true. It is of the utmost importance and should be dwelt upon. "He has created a false public sentiment by giving to the world a different code of morals for man and for woman, &c." My Friends, I have read it imperfectly, for English is still difficult to me—have you heard it, have you understood it? I acknowledge no different standard of morals for the sexes; there is none in nature, in truth, and should be none in practice. But a different code is recognized in practice in all our Society, in all our Law, in all our public opinion, that greatest of all tyrants. All those have established a different code of morals for the sexes, and hence comes so much of immorality, so much of crime, so much of suffering.

It is time to consider, whether, what is wrong in one sex, *can be right in the other*? It is time to consider, whether, if woman commits a fault,—but too often from ignorance, from inexperience, or from poverty; (the consequence of her degradation and oppression)—whether when such a being, in her helplessness, in her ignorance, in her inexperience and dependence, not having had her mind developed, nor her higher faculties exercised, not having been allowed to mingle in honorable society, and gain needful experience, and therefore unacquainted with human nature, or rather, perverted nature, as it too often is,—whether, when such a being is drawn into sin, often through appeals to her tenderest and best feelings, and in consequence also, of being accustomed to look up to man as her superior, her guide, and master—when a being, thus brought up, and thus situated, is drawn down to sin, and has broken the law of society, whether such a being should be cast out of the pale of humanity—while he who led her into it, (if not the main, the great secondary cause of it) he who is endowed with the superior advantages of education and experience, he who has taken advantage of that weakness, and that confiding spirit, which the young, particularly, always have,—I ask, *if she, the victim, is cast out of the pale of humanity, shall the despoiler go free?* (Cries of no! no! no!) *And yet, he goes free!*

My friends, I speak warmly, because I feel deeply for the degradation of woman. Look into your societies ; look into your newspapers ; look everywhere, anywhere ; look at the helpless beings who crowd our cities ! Have these poor creatures been born with the mark of Cain upon their foreheads ? Nature cries, no ! To what then is it owing, but to the wrongs of which they have been victims ! but to the fact, that woman is made to believe that she is created to be only the tool or plaything of man ; to be dependent upon him, instead of dependent upon her own rectitude, dependent upon her own faculties. In that doctrine of dependence upon man, lies *one* of the great causes at least, of the evils which lead so many young and lovely creatures to a premature and dishonored grave. And ye men before me, when you read in the newspapers the terrible account of some woman who has been brought to so low and terrible a condition ; as to violate the strongest law of her nature, the moral law of her being ; do you not know that it is the result of ignorance and of dependence ?

I pity man, but I blame him not. It is owing to unjust, perhaps unwritten laws, and our supposed duty to recognize them as laws. Ah ! if there should be one before me, who has been brought to that unhappy condition to which I have alluded, and has been forced to degrade herself in her own estimation, to prostitute her mind and body to lust ! how deep lies the guilt at the door of society, not only at her own. They have driven her to it,—and yet man, the author of it, in as far as he was the law-maker, and in as much as he is the stronger,—in ninety-nine cases in a hundred, particularly if he can keep up his position in the Church and give money to Bible and Tract Societies,—is honorable in society. I do not state this to cast odium upon these religious societies, or upon the churches. I say it because I know it to be a fact. Such men are to be found in the best society : among our aldermen, our church-officers, in the Legislative halls, in Congress at Washington, and who knows but in the Presidential chair itself. Read your papers, and see how often ministers are brought up for taking advantage of some weak member of their congregations,—or rather, how seldom they are brought up for it, while their poor victims are thrust out from the pale of humanity. And though she has violated only one single law, (and I say it with anxious sorrow) woman

is the first to thrust her out from her own companionship, while she, who thrusts her out, is often quite flattered with the attentions of the *gentleman* who made her his victim. Yet I blame her not any more than man. The same ignorance, the same falsity has made her as inconsistent as it has made him. The same laws removed, only can remove these evils.

Yes, my friends, I am willing to acknowledge, that at present, woman,—the majority of women,—are as much opposed to their nearest and dearest interests, as man is. The reason is obvious. She has been made to believe in, and to depend only, upon the opinions of man. She thinks man is opposed. She lives entirely upon the flattery and adulation of man. She has no object sufficient in life, no confidence in her own principles, nor in her own powers; and therefore, so long as she thinks it unfashionable among men, so long will she go against it. Hence the great necessity to make our truths, legal truths,—for when once they are legal, they will become fashionable, and fashionable ladies will go for them.

I have been told, time after time, by ladies—"We claim our rights ! why we have rights enough. We don't want any more rights." An allusion was made here yesterday to tyranny; the question was asked, whether woman would be a tyrant, if she obtained her rights ? —My friends, analyse that phrase : "We have rights enough !" that sentiment, "And we don't want any more rights !" — It is equivalent to saying, "I have rights enough, therefore *you* are not entitled to yours." There *is* tyranny in such expressions, and such women *are tyrants*. For it is a law of nature, that he who can submit to be a slave, only wants the opportunity, to become a tyrant. He who will place your yoke on his own neck, just give him the opportunity, and he will reverse it, and place the yoke on your neck.

Yes, woman can be a tyrant as great as man, and the more ignorant, and submissive she is now, the greater tyrant she may be for it. But he who can appreciate human rights, he who values the noble spirit of humanity, he who truly recognizes the entire equality of human beings, will never desire to infringe upon the rights of a single member of humanity. Just in proportion as man can be a slave, can he become a tyrant.

But I did not intend to make a speech, I rose to move, and will now move that a committee be appointed to take this declaration of Independence, and the Declaration of Mr. CHANNING, and either combine the two, or frame a new one.

Mrs. SANFORD : — Before that motion is put, I should like to suggest, that the Declaration be published as it stands, and to that be added the resolutions of Mr. CHANNING. It will then show the progress our cause has made.

President ASA MAHAN : — I can only judge of the effect of anything upon the public mind, by its effect upon my own. It has been suggested that that Declaration is a parody. Now you cannot present a parody, without getting up a laugh ; and wherever it goes, it will never be seriously considered. If a declaration is to be made, it should be one that will be *seriously* considered by the public. I would suggest that the Declaration of this convention, be entirely independent of the other.

I have a remark to make upon a sentiment advanced by Mrs. ROSK. I have this objection to the declaration upon which she commented. It is asserted there, that man has created a certain public sentiment, and it is brought as a charge against the male sex. Now I assert, that man never created that sentiment. I say it is a wrong state of society totally, when, if she shall be degraded, a man committing the same offence, shall not be degraded also. There is perfect agreement between us there. But, that declaration charges that sentiment upon man. Now I assert that it is chargeable upon woman herself ; and that as she was first in man's original transgression, she is first here. When two persons commit the crime alluded to, who first defends the man ? I say, it is woman ; and in many instances when man would do justice, woman won't permit it.

I hope the convention will not put forth, such a declaration as that. It should put forth a declaration against that public sentiment. We have all been to blame in it, but I say, man is not chief in it. Now I very seldom knew a controversy between a man and a woman, where women, generally, do not take the part of the man. It is wrong. Now let woman correct herself, so as to as much despise the man, as she has despised the woman. I say, that as a matter of fact, the vil-

lain flees for refuge to woman ; and woman ought to know it, and not even to intimate, that it is chargeable upon man. When I am told that I am the offender, I deny it. I am willing to take my part in it ; we should go together in the blame of it, for man has done it in connection with woman.

Mrs. ROSE :—I heartily agree that we are both in fault ; and yet we are none in fault. I also said, that woman, on account of the position in which she has been placed, by being dependent upon man, by being made to look up to man, is the first to cast out her sister. I know it and deplore it ; hence I wish to give her her rights, to secure her dependence upon herself.

In regard to that sentiment in the declaration, our friend said that woman created it. Is woman really the creator of the sentiment ? The laws of a country create sentiments. Who make the laws ? Does woman ? Our law-makers give her ideas of morality.

MR. BARKER :—And the pulpit.

Mrs. ROSE :—I ought to have thought of it, not only do the law-makers give woman her ideas of morality, but our pulpit-preachers. I beg pardon—no I do not either—for ANTOINETTE L. BROWN is *not* a priest. Our priests have given us public sentiment called morals, and they have always made or recognized, in daily life, distinctions between man and woman. Man, from the time of Adam to the present time, has had utmost license, while woman must not commit the slightest degree of "impropriety," as it is termed. Why even to cut her skirts shorter than the fashion, is considered a moral delinquency, and stigmatized as such by more than one pulpit, directly or indirectly.

You ask me who made this sentiment ; and my friend yonder says, woman. She, is but the echo, of man. Man utters the sentiment, and woman echoes it. As I said before—for I have seen and felt it deeply,—she even appears to be quite flattered with her cruel tyrant, for such he has been made to be,—she is quite flattered with the destroyer of woman's character,—aye, worse than that, the destroyer of woman's self-respect and peace of mind,—and when she meets him, she is flattered with his attentions. Why should she not be ? He is admitted into Legislative halls, and to all places where men "most do congre-

gate ;" why then, should she not admit him, to her parlor. The woman is admitted into no such places ; the Church casts her out ; and a stigma is cast upon her, for what is called the slightest "impropriety." Proscribed by no true moral law, but by superstition and prejudice, she is cast out not only from public places, but from private homes. And if any woman would take her sister to her heart, and warm her there again by her sympathy and kindness, if she would endeavor once more to infuse into her the spark of life and virtue, of morality and peace, she often dare not so far encounter public prejudice as to do it. It requires a courage beyond what woman can now possess, to take the part of the woman against the villain. There are few such among us, and though few, they have stood forward nobly and gloriously. I will not mention names, though it is often a practice to do so; I must, however, mention one sister, LUCRETIA MOTT, who has stood up and taken her fallen sister by the hand, and warmed her at her own heart. But we cannot expect every woman to possess that degree of courage.

ABBY KELLY FOSTER :—I want to say here that I believe that the laws result from public sentiment. The law is but the writing out of public sentiment, and back of that public sentiment, I contend that there lies a responsibility. Where shall we find it? "'Tis education forms the common mind." It is allowed that we are, what we are educated to be. Now if we can ascertain who has had the education of us, we can ascertain who is responsible for the law, and for public sentiment.

Who takes the infant from its cradle and baptizes it "in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost ;" and when that infant comes to childhood, who takes it into Sabbath schools ; who, on every Sabbath day, while its mind is "like clay in the hands of the potter," molds and fashions it as he will ; and when that child comes to be a youth, where is he found, one seventh part of the time ; and when he comes to maturer age, does he not leave his plow in the furrow, and his tools in the shop, and one seventh part of the time go to the place where prayer is wont to be made? On that day no sound is heard but the roll of the carriage wheels to church; all are gathered there, every thing worldly is laid aside, all thoughts are given entirely to the Creator ; for we are taught that we must not think our own thoughts, but



must lay our own wills aside, and come and be molded and fashioned by the priest. It is "*holy time*," and that time we are to give ourselves to be wholly and entirely fashioned and formed by another. That place is a holy place, and when we enter, our eye rests on the "holy of holies ;" he within it, is a "divine." The "divines" of the thirteenth century, the "divines" of the fifteenth century, and the "divines" of the nineteenth century, are no less "divines." What I speak to-day is taken for what it is worth, or perhaps for less than it is worth, because of the prejudice against me ; but when he who educates the people "speaks, he speaks as one having authority ;" he speaks, and is not to be questioned. He claims, and has his claim allowed, to be specially ordained and specially anointed from God. He stands mid-way between Deity and man, and therefore his word has power.

Aye ! not only in middle age, does the man come, leaving every thing behind him ; but, in old age, "*leaning on the top of his staff*," he finds himself gathered in the place of worship, and though his ear may be dull and heavy, he leans far forward to catch the last words of duty—of duty to God and duty to man. Duty is the professed object of the pulpit, and if it does not teach *that*, what in Heavens' name does it teach ? This anointed man of God, speaks of moral duty to God and man. He teaches man from the cradle to the coffin ; and when that aged form is gathered within its winding sheet, it is the pulpit that says "*dust to dust, and ashes to ashes*."

It is the pulpit then, which has the entire ear of the community, one seventh part of the time. If you say there are exceptions, very well, that proves the rule. If there is one family who do not go to church, it is often no matter, its teachings are engendered by those who do go ; hence I would say, not only does the pulpit have the ear of the community one seventh part of the time of childhood, but it has it under circumstances for forming and molding and fashioning the young mind, as no other educating influence can have it. The pulpit has it, not only under these circumstances ; it has it on occasions of marriage, when two hearts are welded into one ; on occasions of sickness and death, when all the world beside is shut out, when the mind is more susceptible of impressions from the pulpit, or any such source.

Then he can make an impression which can never be wiped out this side the grave.

I say then, that woman is *not* the author of this sentiment against her fallen sister, and I roll back the assertion on its source. Having the public ear one seventh part of all the time, if the men of the pulpit do not educate the public mind, who does educate it? *Millions of dollars are paid for this education, and if they do not educate the public mind in its morals, what I ask, are we paying our money for?* If woman is cast out of society, and man is placed in a position where he is respected, then I charge upon the pulpit, that it has been recreant to its duty, or woman would not treat man, as men will not treat their sisters.

If the pulpit should speak out fully and everywhere, upon this subject, would not woman obey it? Are not women under the special leading and direction of their clergymen? You may tell me, that it is woman who forms the mind of the child; but I charge it back again, that it is the minister who forms the mind of the woman. It is he who makes the mother what she is; therefore her teaching of the child, is only conveying the instructions of the pulpit at second hand. If public sentiment is wrong on this behalf, (and I have the testimony of those who have spoken this morning, that it is) the pulpit is responsible for it, and has the power of changing it. The clergy claim the credit of establishing public schools. Granted. Listen to the pulpit in any matter of humanity, and they will claim the originating of it, because they are the teachers of the people. Now if we give credit to the pulpit for establishing public schools, then I charge them with having a bad influence over those schools; and if the charge can be rolled off, I want it to be rolled off; but until it can be done, I hope it will remain there.

MR. MAHAN : — No *class* of persons had better be drawn into our discussions to be denounced, unless there is pretty serious occasion for it. I name the pulpit with solemn awe, and unless there is necessity for it, charges had better not be made against it. Now I say that no practice and no usage in the church can be found, by which a criminal man, in reference to the crimes referred to, may be kept in the church and a criminal woman cast out. There is no such custom in

any of the churches of God. After twenty years of acquaintance with the church, I affirm that the practice does not exist.

Now in regard to the origin of public sentiment, can a pulpit be found, will the lady who has just sat down, name a pulpit in the wide world, where the principle is advocated, that a criminal woman should be excluded, and the man upheld? Whatever faults may be in it, that fault is not there.

MRS. ROSE :—Not in theory, but in practice.

MR. MAHAN :—Neither in theory nor in practice. Where a wrong state of society exists, the pulpit may be in fault for not reprobating it.

ABBY K. FOSTER :—I do not wish to mention names, or I could do so. I could give scores of cases, where ministers have been charged with such crimes, and where the evidence of guilt was almost insurmountable, and yet they were not disciplined. They were afraid that it would injure the church. I remember one minister who was brought up for trial, and meantime they suspended him from office and paid him only half his salary, but retained him as a church member; when if it had been the case of a woman, and but the slightest shade of suspicion had been cast upon her, they would not have waited even for trial and judgment, they would have cast her out of the church at once.

On motion, Convention adjourned to 2 o'clock, P. M.

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SECOND DAY—AFTERNOON SESSION.

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Convention came to order, and after considerable discussion, on motion, the original Declaration, and the letter from Wm. H. CHANNING, were referred to the following Committee, to draft a suitable Declaration :

MRS. ERNESTINE L. ROSE, MISS ANTOINETTE L. BROWN, LUCRETIA MOTT, WM. LLOYD GARRISON and LUCY STONE.

MRS. GAGE :—The different sentiments put forth this morning, reminded me of a circumstance which occurred once in my family. My little children were playing and making too much noise in another

room. I went to them, to request them to be more quiet, when one of them replied : "We ain't making a noise." "But there is a great noise there," I said ; "Well, it makes itself !" Now there is a great deal of immorality in society, and a great deal which needs correcting, but it does not exactly make itself, we all aid to make it. Each one of us feels, individually, "I have not done it."—Man has not done all the wrong, the pulpit has not done all the wrong, the press has not, the law-giver has not done all the wrong. We have united together in all doing wrong. Now, let us all unite together in trying to bring the world back to the right ; and if any party perseveres in the wrong, let us earnestly solicit that party to change its course.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON :—I have but a few words to submit to the meeting at the present time. In regard to the position of the church and clergy, or the subject of purity, I think it is sufficient to remind the people here, that whatever may be the external form observed by the church toward its members, pertaining to licentiousness, one thing is noticeable, and that is, that the marriage relation is abolished among three and a half millions of people ; and the abolition of marriage on that frightful scale, is in the main sanctioned and sustained by the American church and clergy. And if this does not involve them in all that is impure, and licentious, and demoralizing, I know not what can do so.

As it respects the objection to our adopting the Declaration of Independence as put forth at Seneca Falls, on the ground that it is a parody, and that being a parody, it will only excite the mirthfulness of those who hear or read it in that form ; I would simply remark, that I very much doubt, whether, among candid and serious men, there would be any such mirthfulness excited. At the time that document was published, I read it, but I had forgotten it till this morning, and on listening to it, my mind was deeply impressed with its pertinency and its power. It seemed to me, the *argumentum ad hominum*, to this nation. It was measuring the people of this country by their own standard. It was taking their own words and applying their own principles to women, as they have been applied to men. At the same time, I liked the suggestion, that we had better present an original paper to the country ; and on conferring with the business Committee

after the adjournment, they agreed that it would be better to have such a paper ; and that paper will undoubtedly be prepared, although we are not now ready to lay it before the Convention.

It was this morning objected to the Declaration of sentiments that it implied that man only was the transgressor, that he had been guilty of injustice and usurpation, and the suggestion was also made, that woman should not be criminated, in this only, but regarded rather as one who had erred, through ignorance ; and our eloquent friend, Mrs. Rose, who stood on this platform and pleaded with such marked ability, as she always does plead, in any cause she undertakes to speak upon, told us her creed. She told us she did not blame any body, really, and did not hold any man to be criminal, or any individual to be responsible for public sentiment, as regards the difference of criminality of man and woman.

For my own part, I am not prepared to respect that philosophy- I believe in sin, therefore in a sinner ; in theft, therefore in a thief ; in slavery, therefore in a slave-holder ; in wrong, therefore in a wrong doer ; and unless the men of this nation are made by woman to see that they have been guilty of usurpation, and cruel usurpation. I believe very little progress will be made. To say all this has been done without thinking, without calculation, without design, by mere accident, by a want of light ; can any body believe this, who is familiar with all the facts in the case ? Certainly, for one, I hope ever to lean to the charitable side, and will try to do so. I too, believe things are done through misconception and misapprehension, which are injurious, yes, which are immoral and unchristian ; but only to a limited extent. There is such a thing as intelligent wickedness, a design on the part of those who have the light to quench it, and to do the wrong to gratify their own propensities, and to further their own interests

So then I believe, that as man has monopolized for generations, all the rights which belong to woman, it has not been accidental, not through ignorance on his part ; but I believe that man has done this through calculation, actuated by a spirit of pride, a desire for domination which has made him degrade woman in his own eyes, and thereby tend to make her a mere vassal. It seems to me, therefore, that we are to deal with the consciences of men.

It is idle to say that the guilt is common, that the women are as deeply involved in this matter as the men. Never can it be said, that the victims are as much to be blamed as the victimizer ; that the slaves are to be as much blamed as the slave-holders and slave-drivers. That the women who have no rights, are to be as much blamed as the men who have played the part of robbers and tyrants, and placed woman under their feet. We must deal with conscience. The men of this nation, and the men of all nations, have no just respect for woman. They have tyrannized over her deliberately, they have not sinned through ignorance, but theirs is not the knowledge that saves. Who can say truly, that in all things he acts up to the light he enjoys, that he does not do something which he knows is not the very thing, or the best thing he ought to do. How few there are among mankind who are able to say this with regard to themselves. Is not the light all around us ? Does not this nation know how great its guilt is, in enslaving one sixth of its people ? Do not the men of this nation know ever since the landing of the pilgrims, that they are wrong in making subject, one half of the people ? Rely upon it, it has not been a mistake on their part. It has been sin. It has been guilt ; and they manifest their guilt to a demonstration, in the manner in which they receive this movement. Those who do wrong ignorantly, do not willingly continue in it, when they find they are in the wrong. Ignorance is not an evidence of guilt, certainly. It is only an evidence of a want of light. They who are only ignorant, will never rage, and rave, and threaten and foam, when the light comes ; but being interested, and desirous of walking in the light, will always present a manly front, and be willing to be taught, and willing to be told they are in the wrong. Take the cause of slavery : How has the anti-slavery cause been received ? Not argumentatively, not by reason, not by entering the free arena of fair discussion and comparing notes ; the arguments have been rotten eggs, and brickbats and calumny, and in the southern portion of the country, by a spirit of murder, and threats to cut out the tongues of those who spoke against them. What has this indicated on part of the nation ? What but conscious guilt ? Not ignorance, not that they had not the light. They had the light, and rejected it.

How has this Woman's Rights movement been treated in this country, on the right hand and on the left? With what jeering and scoffing; what rowdyism in the city of New York, within a short time past, where the Convention was invaded by a genteel and well dressed mob, to howl down every sentiment uttered by man or woman on that occasion? This nation ridicules and derides this movement, and spits upon it, as fit only to be cast out and trampled under foot. This is not ignorance. They know all about the truth. It is the natural outbreak of tyranny. It is because the tyrants and usurpers are alarmed. They have been and are called to judgment, and they dread the examination and exposure, of their position and character.

Women of America ! you have something to blame yourselves for, in this matter, something to account for to God and the world. Granted. But then you are the victims in this land, as the women of all lands are, to the tyrannical power and godless ambition of man ; and we must show who are responsible in this matter. We must test every body here then. Every one of us must give an account of himself to God. It is an individual testing of character. Mark the man or the woman who derides this movement, who turns his or her back upon it, who is disposed to let misrule keep on, and you will find you have a sure indication of character. You will find that such persons are destitute of principle ; for if you can convict a man of being wanting in principle, anywhere, it will be everywhere. He who loves the right for its own sake, loves the right everywhere. He who is a man of principle, is a man of principle always. Let me see the man who is willing to have any one of God's rational creatures sacrificed, to promote anything, aside from the well-being of that creature himself, and I will show you an unprincipled man.

It is so in this movement. No body argues against it, no body pretends to have an argument. Your platform is free everywhere, wherever these conventions are held. Yet no man comes forward in a decent respectable manner, to show you that you are wrong in the charges you bring against the law-makers of the land. There is no argument against it. The thing is self-evident. I should not know how to begin to frame an argument. That which is self-evident, is greater than argument, and beyond logic. It testifies of itself. You

and I as human beings, claim to have rights, but I never think of going into an argument with any body, to prove that I ought to have rights. I have the argument and logic here, it is in my own breast and consciousness ; and the logic of the schools becomes contemptible beside these. The more you try to argue, the worse you are off. It is not the place for metaphysics, it is the place for affirmation. Woman is the counterpart of man ; she has the same Divine image, having the same natural and inalienable rights as man. To state the proposition is enough, it contains the argument, and nobody can gainsay it ; and therefore nobody attempts to gainsay it, in an honorable way.

I rose simply to say, that though I should deprecate making our platform a Theological arena, yet, believing that men are guilty of intentional wrong, in keeping woman subject, I believe, in having them criminated. You talk of injustice, then there is an unjust man somewhere. Even MRS. ROSE could talk of the guilt of society. Society ! I know nothing of society, I know the guilt of individuals. Society is an abstract term, it is made up of individuals, and the responsibility rests with individuals. So then, if we are to call men to repentance, there is such a thing as wrong-doing intelligently, sinning against God and man, with light enough to convict us, and to condemn us before God and the world. Let this cause then be pressed upon the hearts and consciences, against those who hold unjust rights in their possession.

MRS. SANDFORD, of New London, Huron Co., having unexpectedly arrived, addressed the Convention as follows :

My Friends :— You have had taxation without representation ; the small amount of wages given to woman in comparison with man, for the same devotion of time and labor ; the natural right of a woman to her children and property, set aside by law,—portrayed to you faithfully and seriously, by abler advocates than myself. Bear with me then if I speak in a different manner, or pursue a different course upon this subject.

The gaining of woman's civil rights will be not only a blessing to herself, but it will be a moral, social and religious blessing to all ; you will then, see union and progression exalting the most debased ;



you will see intellect and benevolence reaching forth from the hovel, factory and garret, to purify and ennoble; and the dignity of woman's duties will then fall like a sacred mantle about her. Education then will not consist in classics for the rich, sciences for the mechanic, or a primer for the poor; but it will consist in development for all. The lighter passtime of the toilet will give way to the weightier obligations of duty. The trashy shilling literature of the day, will give place for the writings of a Franklin, a Jefferson or Ellis, a Sigourney, a Whittier, and others who have written upon government, morals and reform, and woman will find a time and place to make them practical. Mothers, your daughters, instead of wickedly and wearily stitching roses into their samplers, and ulcers into their lungs; dogs into their hearth-rugs, and disease into their systems; lambs into their stools, and inflammation into their brain; will leave these paltry and ignoble pursuits of life, for higher duties; and when the time comes to wrap the coffin vestment about them, they will be judged by the use made of the talents God has given them.

Woman's mission on earth is one of mercy, she does not at present wish to be a Statesman, but a benefactor; she does not wish to be a President, or the elector of the President, but a benefactor; she wishes to be an ornament of the Republic, not its ruler. It is an easy thing to place a man there who can annex territory, appoint and remove incumbents of office, but it is not so easy a matter to place there a champion of right, justice, and liberty. It needs some man of clear calm intellect and pure heart, unshackled by platforms, conventions or pledges, who will tread in the footsteps of the fathers of the revolution. But, is it important for woman to vote at elections? It may not be within her sphere of propriety, to buy votes, and to hawk about a nominee's principles to the highest bidder; to collect a noisy rabble to vote for a man who is pledged to an interested committee; but it may be proper for her to see to it, that merit keeps the officers; and to vote for men, from the President down, when convinced that they will seek the greatest good of all, and not temporize for power and emolument. It may be proper for her to see that the internal improvements, instead of enriching companies and corporations, should benefit the transporter and producer; to see that revenues instead,

of swelling the salaries of government officers, should be equally distributed among the people ; to see that the public lands, instead of lining the pockets of agents and speculators, shall be appraised within the compass of the poorest purse in christendom, and made free to worthy settlers. It may be proper for her to make the inquiry, whether it is necessary to drain the treasure and blood of the country to quell opposing factions. Within the prolific resources of woman's brain there may be found some wiser way than that of offering her husband's and children's blood ; some other definition of a nation's glory than military pomp and parade, booming cannon, wounds and death.

If the present Congressmen do not use the power delegated to them by the Constitution, to enact laws for the general welfare, we wish to elect such Congressmen as will so use it. Heretofore Congress has been magnetized into ultra pro-slavery measures, and hugging its power like a giant, with a weight upon its neck, when it might rise and wrestle with that giant. Congress and the American sentiment might come down like a thunderbolt upon American slavery. If we want extent of territory, why refuse free Canada on the north, and grasp after Texas and Mexico on the south ; why reach out after Cuba and Jamaica, while long trains of slaves are tracing their way to California and Oregon, unnoticed and uncared for ? Where do you think will be the vile trickery of office and policy, when woman's finer perception is brought to bear upon it ? Where will be your license for gambling in offices, when woman's power, enlightened by her past suffering, is brought to bear upon it ? Where will be your bribe-taking and your disbursement of public plunder, when woman's new-born liberty is brought into exercise ? Oh ! for an administration of justice, that no emolument can waver, and no inducements corrupt ! You censure England's oppression, and yet you oppress. You sympathize with a mild type of slavery across the water, yet here you rivet down by the chain gang of the law, three millions of the American race.

But everything verges toward equality. Nature never ceases from balancing till she has found on equilibrium. Look at the crowns of Europe. They are counted mere footballs by the nations. There is nothing stable in human action, unless it is in conformity with the law of progression. There is no path of duty that leads not to civil elevation, and this can be obtained only by moral, and civil liberty.

It has been said that these rights secured to us would destroy the peace of the marriage relations. On the contrary these relations would be entered into with more seriousness, and consequently not so often broken. It is our duty here to keep guard over our own souls, and to guard the most glorious institutions that ever blest mankind. Then could woman have equal advantages in the struggle of life, and her love be not wasted, but burn brighter and better, till it is lost in the effulgence of another existence. Need I point you to the society of Quakers where women have always had a share in the institutions of their order? Note their quiet decided movements, their gentle energetic actions, their thoughtful expressive countenances, their intellectual matronly appearance; and yet their domestic responsibilities have never been neglected or set aside to make way for their other responsibilities. On the contrary they are brightened in the radiance of liberty and duty. Look abroad through the world, and note where you would not expect woman to be equal with man; among the Mahommedan, barbarous, and savage nations; but where man is elevated into truth and light, must he not know that his present use of power is despotism over our rights and the laws of our being?

It seems strange to me that woman, who has so often sat upon the throne, has never raised her sex to the enjoyment of their rights. Semiramis, and Isabella of Spain, might have done it. Elizabeth of England preserved her realms in peace and repelled invasion. Mary was learned and energetic, and if she had had better men for ministers, how different would have been her counsels. These and others might have elevated woman.

Whatever there is worthy in our own Constitution is owing to the indirect influence of two women: the mother of Washington and the wife of John Adams. The latter wrote cheering letters to her husband in Congress to be firm and uncompromising, and many of the measures brought forward there, were found in their germs in her letters to her children. If such advice and such encouragement indirectly, can have such an influence, what would be the direct influence of the whole host of American women, upon our institutions and country?

Women, and sisters, ponder these things in your hearts. Convene frequently and counsel together; assist the sister conventions in word

and deed ; and the light will break upon your souls, and you will find it better patriotism far, than to gird on your brother's sword, and flout the banner of battle. The hearts of your people will be a better defense than garrisoned troops.

We are opposed not only by those who make the law, but by woman herself. There are those whose only hope is in woman's want of power. There are others who have been so long looking up to man's example, that they think there is no other way. And there is another portion still, who actually believe they have not the intellect to investigate great subjects or to engage in this reform. They sink back into capriciousness and selfishness ; and so long as man is blind enough to foster that selfishness, he may be subject to it. Let her have a voice in your councils and you will disenthral her at once from the kindred offenses of folly and vice.

I am aware that I throw but a feeble and flickering light upon this subject, but there is a day coming when you will see it in a light glorious as the brightness of noon. I look upon the past—there is nothing in history to militate against this movement. I look upon the present—it is fraught with lofty efforts, indeed none loftier ; and it is as God designed it. Woman in her purity, ennobled by religion and unoppressed by low passions and power, blending her moral and religious influence here, shall have man's approval and God's acceptance hereafter.

LUCY STONE :—I believe that in every good movement everything that comes to it, helps it. "The wrath of man shall praise."

And in the discussions that have grown out of this Woman's Rights question, I have never felt that anything that comes to it from either side, can be a hindrance to its progress. We talk of the wrongs we suffer in one direction, and in another of the rights we ought to have, which are not given us ; and the people listen, and thousands of women wish there were some way by which the wrong they suffer, and they know they suffer, could be removed ; and yet they do not see what may be done. I hold in my hand a letter from a good friend of this cause ; a *man* but no less a friend ; for men are friends of woman's cause, as well as she herself. They have learned in the words of Tennyson : that,

"Woman's cause, is man's cause,  
We rise and fall together."

And because they have learned that, they have come to be co-workers in this cause, which is to me one of the most sacred that is now moving upon the great deep of the human soul.

The Rev. Mr. HIGGINSON, whose letter I hold, and who has taken this cause to his heart as though it were his sister, is desirous that we should devise some practical measures by which we may work out a pathway to more rapid progress—and, by the way, it is the same Mr. Higginson, who, when the meeting assembled last spring in N. Y., at the Brick Chapel, and when Revs. John Chambers, and Marsh, and Crampton, and Ex Mayor Barstow of Providence, and I don't know how many other would-be-called worthies, were there, utterly denying that in the deliberations of the convention, woman should have any place ; when they ruled us out of order, although we were in order ; when, I say, every woman was gagged, and only men were heard,—and not even they, if they were expected to speak on the side of woman,—it is the same Mr. Higginson who proposed that we should all withdraw and make arrangements for a whole world's convention, one that would be large enough to admit men and women ; and the letter I hold in my hand is from him, and he is a clergyman too.

MR. BARKER :—But he is a heretic !

LUCY STONE :—Yes, men call him so now, but he believes that "all things which ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them ;" and I do not believe therefore, that the great Master whom he obeys, will write him down an heretic, at last. But we will hear the letter :—

WORCESTER, Sept. 15. 1853.

DEAR FRIEND :— In writing to the New York Woman's Rights' Convention, I mentioned some few points of argument which no opponents of this movement have ever attempted to meet. Suffer me, in addressing the Cleveland Convention, to pursue a different course, and mention some things which the friends of the cause have not yet attempted to do.

I am of a practical habit of mind, and have noticed with some

regret that most of the friends of the cause have rested their hopes, thus far, chiefly upon abstract reasoning. This is doubtless of great importance, and these reasonings have already made many converts ; because the argument is so entirely on one side that every one who really listens to it begins instantly to be convinced. The difficulty is, that the majority have not yet begun to listen to it, and this, in great measure, because *their attention has not been called to the facts upon which it is founded.*

Suppose, now, that an effort were made to develop the facts of woman's wrongs. For instance :

1st. We say that the laws of every state of this Union do great wrong to woman, married and single, as to her person and property, in her private and public relations. Why not procure a digest of the laws on these subjects, then ; prepared carefully, arranged systematically, corrected up to the latest improvements, and accompanied by brief and judicious commentaries ? No such work exists, except that by Mansfield, which is now obsolete and in many respects defective.

2d. We complain of the great educational inequalities between the sexes. Why not have a report, elaborate, statistical, and accurate, on the provision for female education, public and private, throughout the free States of this Union, at least ? No such work now exists.

3d. We complain of the industrial disadvantages of women, and indicate at the same time, their capacities for a greater variety of pursuits. Why not obtain a statement, on as large a scale as possible, *first*, of what women are doing now, commercially and mechanically, throughout the Union (thus indicating their powers ;) and *secondly*, of the embarrassments with which they meet, the inequality of their wages, and all the other peculiarities of their position, in these respects ? An essay, in short, on the *Business Employments and Interests of Women* ; such an essay as Mr. Hunt has expressed to me his willingness to publish in his "*Merchants' Magazine.*" No such essay now exists.

Each of these three documents would be an arsenal of arms for the Women's Rights Advocate. A hundred dollars, appropriated to each of these, would more than repay itself in the increased subscriptions it would soon bring into the treasury of the cause. That sum

would, however, be hardly sufficient to repay even the expenses of correspondence and traveling necessary for the two last essays ; or the legal knowledge necessary for the first.

If there is, however, known to the Convention at Cleveland any person qualified and ready to undertake either of the above duties for the above sum ; (no person should undertake more than one of the three investigations)—I would urge you to make the appointment. It will require, however, an accurate, clear-headed and industrious person, with plenty of time to bestow. Better not have it done at all, than not have it done thoroughly, carefully and dispassionately. Let me say distinctly, that I cannot be a candidate for either duty, in my own person, for want of time to do it in ; though I think I could render some assistance, especially in preparing materials for the third essay. I would also gladly subscribe towards a fund for getting the work done.

Permit me, finally, to congratulate you on the valuable results of every Convention yet held to consider this question. I find the fact everywhere remarked, that so large a number of women of talent and character have suddenly come forward into a public sphere. This phenomenon distinguishes this reform from all others that have appeared in America, and illustrates with new meaning the Greek myth of Minerva, born *full-grown* from the head of Jove. And if, (as some late facts indicate) this step forward only promotes the Woman's Rights movement from the sphere of contempt into the sphere of hostility and persecution—it is a step forward, none the less. And I would respectfully suggest to the noble women who are thus attacked, that they will only be the gainers by such opposition, unless it lead to dissensions or jealousies among themselves.

Yours cordially,

THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON.

MISS LUCY STONE.

This letter, you see, proposes that we shall find some way if possible, by which our complaints may be spread before the people. We find men and women in our conventions, earnest and thoughtful, who are not drawn by mere curiosity, but are drawn by a conscious want of

just such a movement as this. They go away, and carry to their villages and hamlets, the ideas they have gathered here ; and it is a cause for thankfulness to God that so many go away to repeat what they have heard. But we have wanted the documents to scatter among the people, as the Tract Society scatters its sheets. And now Mr. Higginson proposes that we have these essays. The first he proposes shall gather up all the Laws in any way relating to woman.

Now we have a great many women who laugh at the proposition for woman's filling public offices. They laugh at not sharing in the elective franchise. The women who do it, are mainly those around whom so much of sunshine has gathered, that they have not known that woman suffers from disabilities in these respects ; and yet it is a sad fact. The law so weighs against those who sustain the position of wife and mother, that no married woman has a right to any of her earnings in any single state of all this Union. I was in New Jersey the other day and made this statement, when a lawyer, very politely, handed up a copy of their law, which he thought contradictory to what I had said ; but it only secured to woman what property might fall to her before marriage. The product of her pen is not hers, because she has not acquired it under the definition of the word "acquired," which the law of New Jersey will allow to her.

It has been proved by sad experience, in too many instances, that a man may watch where his wife's earnings are accumulated and if he can lay his hands upon them,—unless by cunning she can keep them away from him,—he can and does take them to pay the drunkard's bill, and to squander upon abandoned women. I was told by a worthy physician within a month, how a wife kept her own earnings—and I want the women who don't wish to meddle with politics, to listen to me, and I want the men who ask us to trust them, to listen. In New York City there is a noble woman who is unfortunately the wife of a mean man,—and there are too many such. He lives to smoke cigars and drink rum, and revel in unworthy pleasures. He earns nothing. His wife, an energetic woman, keeps a millinery establishment, which she managed so well, as to enable her to keep on from year to year and accumulate in the Bank, a few hundred dollars. Her husband seduced the daughter of his neighbor, and when the fact



came to be known, the father prosecuted to recover money of the villain,—for the world has not yet learned that *money* cannot pay for a deed so dastardly and devilish. By the Law this man had a right to the earnings of his wife, and he went to the Bank *and drew the money that she, by her long toil had earned, and paid it for his lust!* The Law allows this all over the Union ; and while such statutes exist, it is important for women to know just what they are, and how they effect their interests. So I say in regard to the suggestion of Mr. Higginson that such a document be prepared, that it is exceedingly important, and that whoever gives his time to it, ought to be paid, for time is money ; though I am happy to say, that on that topic, we have a worthy lawyer in Boston, who is doing it, and we have another noble brother, Wendell Phillips, who is pledged to pay him for his labor upon it.

Then the object of the other essay will be to examine and state the inequalities of education,—and I wish Mr. Higginson had added, of opportunity to learn from other sources than books alone. The right education from those, we are coming nearer to recognize, and the tendency of the age is to set that matter right ; but while the admission is come to be made on all hands, I shall be glad when the other item is added also ; when liberty will be given woman to learn not from books alone, but from the freedom to go out into the world's highway, and by actual conflict with life, learn the lessons that do not come from books.

But, consider the results that grow out of the fact, that when a woman has obtained an education such as Oberlin and McGrawville can give her, the world won't let her use it. Oberlin will let Antoinette Brown study Theology, but they won't let her preach. The young man gets his knowledge, and "the world is all before him where to choose," and Providence is his guide. I thank God that it is so. I thank God that our brothers never knew what their sisters have had to know by sad, stern experience.

I would, therefore, make an addition to the suggestion of Mr. Higginson on this topic, that the results also be embodied in the essay, of excluding woman from the liberty of using her knowledge in just the way she chooses, after she gets it. We are not asking liberty to

do wrong ; no mortal has the right to do that. We are asking that woman be allowed to use her knowledge to do right ; and not that when Antoinette Brown has studied Theology, the Orthodox world, with whom she believes, and believes, too, that the majority of men are going to Hell to burn eternally with Devils and damned spirits, should assume to say to her, that rather than that she, as a woman, should teach them the path to Heaven, they may all go to Hell together.

The fact is, that God gives us all the power to tell some truth, and we must tell it whether men give us the liberty or not. But we don't want our way hedged up, so that we shall be scourged, and hunted, and hissed when we do it. We don't want, when we are compelled by the dictates of our consciences to do it, to be met with sneers and told to go back where women have always been compelled to be, no matter whether God gave them talent to be there, or elsewhere.

Money is power, and woman has it not ; and the reason is, because she is confined to three or four kinds of employments. I should, perhaps, not say that now. A few years ago, before this movement had "a local habitation and a name," woman had but two or three employments, but my heart has been gladdened to see how true, noble women, have come to the rescue of their sisters, making a pathway for them to other kinds of industry. But we are surrounded by a thousand difficulties, and among them the fact that society has not come to recognize the right of woman to do well, what she has the ability to do. Now we should learn to trust God, and know that when God has given powers to woman, she may use those powers ; and when he made one woman a Sculptor, and another an Architect, we should know that he meant she should use what he gave her.

I remember a woman whom God made a Sculptor. He did not give her anything else, but he gave her the power to chisel the most beautiful creations out of marble. That was twenty-five years ago, before this question was openly agitated—but it was *felt*, for the thought comes ever before the deed ; that was the era of thought, the feeling was beginning to move. This woman wrought out a bust of one of the citizens of the town. It was placed in a public position where it could be recognized. An artist saw it, and turned it

round and round in his hands. He saw and recognized the exquisite skill with which it was done, and as his comment upon it exclaimed : "O what a pity she is not a man ! " He could not look up to the Heavenly Father, and trust Him who sees the end from the beginning. He could not know that when God had given her that power as a Sculptor, it was safe and best to trust her to use it ; and the world has not yet learned it.

But growing out of these peculiar difficulties, which are the result of a circumscribed sphere, are sources of vice so fearful that the blood runs cold and curdling through my heart, only to think of it. When I was in New York I went to the Five Points, to Mr. Pease's charitable home, and he took me from room to room, where were gathered the women whom we call "abandoned." He showed me how by giving these women work, they earned their living and abandoned their vices. He said to me,—“Of all the women whom I have known in these miserable haunts, there is not one in a hundred who is not here simply because she could not earn her bread for herself by honorable labor. The compensation was so meager that she could not supply herself with bread.” And I have been told by these women tales of horror that wrung tears from my eyes and heart. I have been told how they loathed those lives, by women who, when they spoke to me, seemed to me to have the very soul of fidelity and purity, told me that but for their children—“bone of their bone, and flesh of their flesh,” asking for bread at their hands—that but for supplying their wants, they would have starved a thousand times, rather than betake themselves to such lives. One woman told me her tale of wrong and outrage, and said that but for her children she would have dashed herself to atoms ; like Rebecca, the Jewess, standing on the battlements, she would have thrown herself over and given back her spirit to her Father who gave it, rather than have gone down into that abyss of blackness. And she need not have done it, had the usages of society been such that she could have taken the power God had given her, of head and hand, and used them to get bread for herself and children. She might have been here with us. God had blessed her with intellect, had given her no common share ; but she was a woman, and because she was a woman, society said to her, go stitch, or go into the kitchen,

or teach, whether you can get place and pay or not ; and if you go beyond these, we will scourge you, we will call you an unsexed woman, and we will follow after you with the "world's dread laugh," before which even brave men have not been able to stand.

*A woman in the audience*, with choking voice—Who was in fault that she *could* earn her bread by going into pollution ?

LUCY STONE.—Who was in fault ? The question answers itself !

And now while the city and country is filled with vice, while women have so little time to cultivate the deathless part of their natures, but must grow unnourished and parched like the heath in the desert ; is it not well to let the world know, is it not worth our while to gather the facts, and appropriate the money to spread them before the candid and thoughtful ?

I do believe the people need light more than anything else, and if when the light is spread we do not act up to our privileges, greater will be our loss and condemnation.

But let us call for light and see that it be spread ; and when you place in the hands of every man and woman facts, which are facts, showing the wrongs and results of the wrongs of woman, we shall find the hands of many men and womanly women, coming up to assist us in this movement. We are not understood, because too many have taken pains to brand us with all sorts of epithets, to deter people from coming to hear ; and because they have not come to hear, they have falsely regarded this movement as a mannish movement, and not one that tended to teach woman to take her God-given powers, and make the most and the best of them. Prejudice has been scattered like the leaves of Autumn every where against us. What we *do* claim has been nowhere heard, and what we do *not* claim has been industriously stated as the object of the movement. I would suggest, therefore, that this Convention raise two hundred dollars to meet the expense of writing and publishing the proposed essays.

Mrs. ROSE.—I cannot avoid rising to endorse the ideas just presented, as to the great necessity to have some publications, so connected and concise as to combine all our legal grievances in one, all our educational deficiencies in another, and all our industrial disabilities in another ; and have them published in large numbers to spread

them broadcast over the land, that every man and woman may be made acquainted with the disadvantages from which we suffer, and the principles on which our claims are based. I am satisfied that if women should become acquainted fully with their present position, they would universally stand up and claim their rights. I am equally satisfied that if man could realize the evil woman suffers, and through her that man suffers—for the interests of man and woman cannot be divided—I am sure that man would favor the reform as much as we desire. We must make each other acquainted with these things.

Particularly does it seem to me necessary to have the address upon the legal disabilities of woman. We ought surely to be acquainted with the laws from which we suffer; and as woman suffers so much from her legal disabilities, she ought to know what the laws are, and in the few instances where she can, she ought to be able to take advantage of them.

I would also recommend my sisters who are just entering upon life, and who have the prospect of many years before them, to prepare themselves for the other various avocations yet unentered by women. There are already a good many, and I am happy to know it, who have studied the profession of medicine, and I trust we shall have more. There are some who have studied the profession of Theology. For myself I would rather that every man and every woman, if we are to have any Theology at all, should do his own Theology and preaching; nevertheless so long as Theology and preaching are required, I wish her right to them to be as unrestricted as man's.

Above all things women ought to look to the legal profession. I trust that some of our young girls just springing into life, who have a natural capacity for analyzing, reasoning, comparing and judging; whose intellectual faculties are well developed for that profession, such as causality and others of that class of organs, will study the legal profession, so long as lawyers are required. In looking into the future, my hope carries me forward to the time when we shall not require lawyers to make white black and black white; but as long as we do require them, we need women for lawyers, and judges, and jurors. Woman never will be rightly judged, until she is judged by her own sex. Her cause will never be rightly pleaded, unless pleaded by herself.

I have known a cause in a foreign land under despotic rule, pleaded by a woman. A case happened where a girl of tender years had been unjustly dealt with, where parents had deemed it right to sell her—not purposely, for they were kind and affectionate parents—but the custom of the country allowed parents to make contracts that at a certain time of life, their daughters should marry certain individuals. This was the case of a girl hardly seventeen, who had to go to law to rescue her property staked on such a contract, which she could not and would not fulfil; and against all the laws of the land, she gained that cause. How came she to gain it? Because she pleaded it, and called down the Justice of Heaven against the Laws.

If my health were not broken down as it is, I should study law—not to make the “worse appear the better cause,” but for the purpose of maintaining justice—justice to man as well as to woman.

MISS A. L. BROWN, in the Chair.

MRS. FRANCES DANA GAGE.—We have heard the sorrows of the extreme poor detailed here, and I can bear testimony to the truth of what my friend Lucy Stone has told you, for I too visited the place where the “Hot Corn Girl” cried her corn, and where Madelina died; and I heard the Missionary plead with by women to take their daughters out of the city, and remove them from the accursed influences by which they were surrounded. But there is another class who need elevation—the common working women of our country, in moderate circumstances, those who rise with the dawn and labor far into the night; those who are rearing the men and women of our nation. Our scholars and statesmen tell us that men are what their mothers make them. How can the woman who has the household to look after from morning to evening, find time to educate her children? How is she to be expected to always speak kindly when the little one gets in her way? If she has no privileges herself, how can she lead her children in the right path?

Of our Female School Teachers, too, I would say a word. They are called upon to appear at the Teacher's Conventions. What do they do, when they get there? Why the gentlemen tell them they have nothing to do, but to keep quiet; do any of them respond?—They are but half paid for their services. The President of the Ed-

educational Board of Ohio, puts forth in his reports, urgent calls upon the people to employ Female Teachers because it is better economy. In an article in the Educational Journal, after going over the whole ground of argument why Female Teachers should be employed, as his last and most powerful reason, he urged *Economy!* He should be met there, with the claim that if a woman did her work as well, she should be as well paid. With that argument he had nothing to do. As society was constituted she could afford to work for less, and complaint would be undignified. Now if any body can tell why she could work for less, if any body could show that she could buy a pound of beef for less, or a barrel of flour, or a railway ticket, there would be some force in the argument. I have yet to learn that she can travel by railway, or board at a hotel, or obtain anything of value, for less than men. A lady teacher in a neighborhood, unless public charity support her, must pay as much for board, and in addition to that she must do her own work, and keep her own room and wardrobe in order; and with all these disadvantages, she is expected to be the better teacher, or she could not be employed at all. I knew a widow last spring, who had worked at the needle until she dared do it no longer. She went to the Clerk of the County, and asked him to give her writing to do, as a relief from sewing. He replied to her that he did not need her services, but if he did, there were so many men about, ready to assist him, that he should have to employ them. She went then to a chair bottomer, with a like result; then to a curled hair manufacturer, and heard the same story. She applied for a clerkship in a store, and received the same reply. She went to several other branches of industry, and in every instance it was told her, we have men hands enough, and we must employ them.

We need such a report as has been suggested, then, not for the extreme poor only, but for the middle classes, indeed for all classes.

Mrs. FOSTER presented the following resolution and proceeded to speak upon it:

"WHEREAS, wealth is power, and poverty weakness; and whereas in order to secure a true self respect and the respect of community, one must be above pecuniary dependence: therefore

"Resolved, That it is the duty of those women who would secure

to woman her rights, to commence by securing to themselves, as far as they are able, the control of their own property; and to engage in business that shall relieve them from that dependence on others for a support, which at present so cripples their energies and crushes their spirits."

We are often accused that we are here because our tempers are soured and dispositions become morose, in consequence of our own special domestic oppressions. Well, then, if that be the fact, it is the greatest reason why we should be here. Our hearts always rejoice when we hear of the people of any nation struggling for their rights, and especially for those rights that we ourselves enjoy. But I am sorry to say that it is the fact, that those who need it most are not here—those who are most oppressed at home—who are under the iron rule there, who are dispirited and outraged through a long life. In the course of a few weeks I have heard a large number of women express the most earnest desire to be here, but they could not come! Why could they not come? Was it because they were pecuniarily distressed? In some instances they lived in magnificent houses, surrounded by the most splendid furniture, and rode in superb carriages; but they could not come to this Convention, and for the same reason that the slaves in New Orleans, clothed in purple and fine linen, cannot go to Anti-Slavery meetings in the city of Boston. No! those people who need to come here most, are the very people who cannot come; and who are obliged in order to prevent greater suffering, to say they do not want to come here. Why we have heard it repeated again and again, that woman is equally blameworthy with man in this matter; and that she is her own worst enemy; and that she has all the rights she wants. I am sorry to hear this. It is the old plea of the slaveholder—"My slaves are contented and happy, and would not take their liberty if they could get it; go into my kitchen or into my fields and ask them if it is not so." But you always have to ask them in the presence of the master. So say women, "We would not leave the kitchen, and we believe our minister, when he tells us we are peculiarly fitted for the position we occupy." But woman also is always in the presence of her master, and therefore does not dare to confess that she wants to be free.



I have heard of the wife of a southern planter, who was converted to Anti-Slavery in one of her visits to the North, and she converted her sons and daughters, and then they all went to work to convert the husband and father. They labored long, earnestly, perseveringly, and with a persistence that would not be overruled. But he insisted that all his slaves were contented and happy, as not a man of them would confess that they wanted to be free ; but after long weeks and months of argument and urging, he concluded to give them their freedom. He called them around him one morning and proffered them their liberty, and there was not one who declined. On the contrary, with joy that could not be expressed by words, or even by signs, they thanked God and their master, and expressed themselves, by their own inarticulate but powerful manner of expression, the joy they felt.

Now when the time comes, even if to-morrow that woman shall be enfranchised, there's not a woman in these States, who would not rejoice, who would not thank God. There is not one who would say, that she would like to return to her former condition. Now therefore, when we say woman is to blame, we must remember that she is a poor dependent creature, that whatever money she gets to sustain her from day to day—her bread, her clothing, the education of her children—whatever she gets, she is dependent for it upon her husband, her father or her brother ; therefore she dares not utter herself. I have no doubt, many believe or think they have all the freedom they want, but down in the bottom of their hearts there is a distinct, inalienable desire for freedom.

There are many men who are willing to secure to their wives, whatever they have power to give her control over. This report that it is proposed to publish, will offer facilities for ascertaining how they can get this power. I hope there will be a universal demand for it. I hope women will send large orders for it. It will not be stereotyped, so as to allow of making changes in it, as the Laws are ameliorated, or changed ; for these Laws will be swept away piecemeal, therefore the book will need revision year by year.

It is not long since, that a man wanted to secure to his wife her property, and he went to a lawyer to learn how he could do it. The

lawyer advised him about it, but when he went home he found the advice false.

Now I want to say one word to our brethren, who are in favor of rights for woman. It is so delightful to have power, and temptation is so great, that not one in ten, of our Women's Rights men, when they are taking a deed for a house, or farm, or any other real estate, in those states where the Law allows her to take a deed, who gives his wife a deed. He is bound to do it by his principles, but he is apt to say : "Oh, well, it is secured to you, I have made my will !" and she feels satisfied about it too, because she feels confidence in her husband. But I say as a matter of example, of agitation, to set the whole neighborhood in a ferment ; every one who can, should do it. Why, my husband did it ! I had not any money, but still, notwithstanding justice did not require a joint deed, he gave me one ; and the consequence was, the whole neighborhood was set in commotion. All the women began to talk about it, and it has done more than all the Woman's Rights lecturing that could be done in that neighborhood. One practical act of this kind will show the people the necessity of the equal power in point of property ; besides, how does a man know how soon he may be prosecuted, and all that is his property may go for it,—but by this means, a share of it at least, is secured to his wife.

There are every way advantages growing out of equality, just like the repentant slaveholder. After he shall have felt the advantages which he has received, in consequence of his having recognized a correct principle, he would not on any account return to the wrong. I therefore would urge strongly on every man, wherever he can secure equal rights in the matter of property, to his wife, to do it.

It has been said of woman, that she has been shut out from industrial occupations—I am going to blame woman now a little. I want to know then, why we have male milliners and male dress-makers ? When I asked the women in Worcester, why they didn't take that business into their own hands, and receive the money that came from the profits of their own labors, they replied, "We do not want to take the responsibilities, it requires too much care." Well then, I thought, be slaves ! I feel that women, in order to get their rights, must per-

form their duties, must take the responsibility. We have got to labor hard, for nothing can ever accrue to us of profit, or advantage, or greatness, without it ; and hence we must take the responsibility, the cares, the toils, the trials, the vexations, the harrassing, heart-aching responsibilities of trade. It is our business to do so. I always regret, when I see our young women refuse to set themselves up in some business. They say they have no capital. Very well, commence on a small scale, like the woman of whom I bought the shoes which I have on my feet. That woman set up business without capital, and to-day she controls the shoe trade of the city of Lowell. Let a woman commence business, and stem the difficulties of it, and she will become strong. She will become athletic. Why, the shrub in the valley, growing up to a tree, has no strength, no power ; but let it be set on the hill, to meet the storms and the winds—let it there be accustomed to stem the tempest and thunderbolt, and it becomes powerful, and its roots strike deep.

Now if we are going to become strong, we must make an effort. No use to go round asking men to let us into their stores. We must set up stores of our own. I once heard a merchant say, "It don't require capital in the hands of a man to commence business, when he shows that he has talent and business capabilities. No man comes anywhere near needing the capital he trades on." Is it not a fact ? Why let us look about us. We have got to make business, and control business, as man does ; and if men can commence business without capital, women can do the same ; and if you are worthy to be independent, and worthy of the cause which you espouse, then you will enter into this business, no matter if it does cost many sleepless nights ; no matter if it does make your faces look old and sallow. Our business is, to be strong and energetic ; and if we would accomplish anything good and valuable, we have to do it by our own efforts.

I feel that every woman is bound to train her daughters to business and trade, as much as every man trains his sons. Is it not a deep and lasting disgrace, for a son, after he comes to the age of twenty one, to hang upon the skirts of the household without any employment by which he can render himself independent ; so that he shall have to

go to his father for two dollars to attend a political convention, or for money to buy him a new suit of clothes? There is not a young man who is not looked upon with scorn who does it. Now, we must build up such a public opinion, that young women will not dare to hang upon the household after they are of age. A young man is not fit to contract marriage, and is not reckoned worthy, until he is qualified to support a family. It should be the same with woman. She knows not how soon her husband may be taken to another world. She knows not how soon he may be a drunkard. If she has a family, she feels a desire to support them as they should be. Now is it not incumbent on her, before she enters upon the most sacred relation of life, to qualify herself to support a family?

But suppose her husband's love and life are all preserved; it is an old saying that opposites attract each other. Whether it is so or not, in the realities of life there is a great diversity of power bestowed on the wife and husband, and often woman has the most business tact and talent. Now if woman would only feel the responsibility and come to know that two heads are better than one, if one is a woman's head, I feel that the toils of life would be lighter.

Look into your counting houses here in Cleveland, and then look under the satin and velvet that clothe and curtain your homes. Look at those heads and hearts crimsoned with blood and toil as they shut up their offices late at night, while their wives and daughters are toys in the parlor. It is considered a disgrace for woman in the higher classes of life, to do anything useful, to bless the community. Look at the lawyers, shut up in their musty offices amid their rolls of paper, their brains all on fire, throbbing with care and toil. O! if woman did but know and feel half her duty and responsibility, and realized how much of joy, and happiness and blessedness, would result from an equal participation in the care and support of a household, how soon would she engage in it. I feel that man would be equally pleased, aye, more so, for the oppressor is always a greater sufferer than the oppressed; and when woman shall come to have her rights, and perform her duties, and feel her responsibilities, I feel that man will rejoice even more than herself. I will take my seat by urging again on every woman present, not only to engage in business herself, but

to induce her neighbor to do it, without looking to men especially, to aid them in that work.

The resolutions of Mrs Foster were voted upon, and adopted. The suggestions of Mr. Higginson were also acted upon and adopted by the convention, and a committee passed about to solicit contributions and subscriptions in aid of the effort. Miss Stone subsequently reported \$72, as the result of this first appeal.

Convention adjourned to 7 o'clock, P. M.

#### EVENING SESSION.

Convention came to order at the appointed hour—the house thronged by an intelligent audience. The President contrasted the order, decorum, and kindness of the Cleveland audiences, with the noisy and tumultuous demonstrations which recently disgraced the city of New York, at the convention held there.

MR. JOSHUA R. GIDDINGS,—on being called to the stand—remarked that he was present to express, and happy of the opportunity to express, his sincere interest in the cause, and regard for the actors in this movement ; but that on almost any other occasion he could speak with less embarrassment than here, with such advocates before him ; and as he had not come prepared to address the convention, declined occupying its time longer.

After a few remarks from Mrs. Mott, Mrs. Emma R. Coe, of Buffalo, read a petition to be presented to the Legislature of Ohio at its next session, praying for woman's equality under the Law, and after some forcible remarks, moved that it be approved by the convention, which was done by general vote.

ANTOINETTE L. BROWN :—The words spoken to-night, have been earnest words. I saw upon the faces of this audience, that the words sunk into their hearts. We all felt, that woman is wronged socially. We have felt to-day in this convention that grievous wrongs are done, not only to woman, but to man, to all humanity. Mrs. Coe told us of the movement for the amelioration of woman in the sphere of Law. And we see agitation is extending not only over our country, but over the entire world ; and all subjects in our day are being canvassed. We are asking, why are these things so ; and we find wrongs planted in almost all the institutions of the world.

The time has been when we all felt, that these things were something belonging, necessarily, to the fallen state of man ; but now the idea is spreading through the world, that God is not the author of sin ; that he created our Universe all very good ; that there is sin in the world, and its bitter consequences are abroad, but that we are the sinners ourselves, and that we must do something to remove this sin ; and that Christ, who died for us, will enable us to repent of our sins, and blot them out forever. We are beginning to feel, that we can have a paradise here on this fallen earth ; and the people are asking, how shall we obtain this result ? Human nature has felt the wrong, and seems to have arisen in its might to do something, but it does not yet see so clearly the remedy. It is still blinded by ignorance, and Sampson-like is laying its hands on the whole social and religious fabric, threatening to overwhelm it in ruins, if its grievous wrongs be not redressed. We do not claim to know what is absolutely best, when we direct our efforts to the amelioration of mankind ; we do not claim infallibility in our measures ; but certain steps we do feel to be wise and good.

Let me refer to some things which have been done by some among us, and which we feel proud of, because they have done good. And I must first read a paragraph from the paper I hold in my hand,—written by Gen. Cary, of your state.

(The extract referred to the motives of Miss Brown and others in attending the World's Temperance Convention, but as the paper was not preserved, nor the extracts she made therefrom, reported ; and as the committee have endeavored, without success, to obtain a copy of the same paper, all such extracts are necessarily omitted.)

“Why did we go to that World's Convention ?” We went there because the call was extended to “the world.” On the twelfth of May a preliminary meeting had been held at New York—the far famed meeting at the Brick Chapel. There, because of the objection taken by some who were not willing to have the “rest of mankind” come into the convention, a part of those present, withdrew. They thought they would have a “*whole* world's Temperance Convention,” and they thought well, as the result proved. When it was known that such a convention would be called, that all persons would be invited to con-

sider themselves members of the convention, who considered themselves members of the world, some of the leaders of the other convention—the half world's convention—felt that if it were possible, they would not have such a meeting held; therefore they took measures to prevent it. Now let me read a statement from another delegate to that convention, Rev. Wm. H. Channing, of Rochester. (Miss Brown read an extract from the Tribune, giving the facts in regard to her appointment as delegate, by a society of long standing, in Rochester,—and extracts, also, of letters from persons prominent in the Brick Chapel meeting, urging Mr. Greeley to persuade his party to abandon the idea of a separate convention, a part of such writers pleading, that it was an unnecessary movement, as the call to the World's Temperance Convention was broad enough, and intended to include all.)

MISS BROWN :—This appointment was made without my knowledge or consent, but with my hearty endorsement, when I knew it was done. Let me state also, that a society organized and for years in existence, in South Butler, N. Y., also appointed delegates to that convention, and myself among the number. They did so, because, though they knew the call invited all the world to be present, yet they thought it best to have their delegations prepared with credentials, if being prepared would do any good.

When we reached New York, we heard some persons saying, that women would be received as delegates, and others saying they would not. We thought we ought to test that matter, and do it too as delicately and quietly as possible. There were quite a number of ladies appointed delegates to that meeting, but it was felt that not many would be necessary to make the test of their sincerity.

We met at the Woman's Rights Convention on the day of the opening of the half world's Temperance Convention, and had all decided to be content with our own Temperance Convention, which had passed off so quietly and triumphantly. Wendell Phillips and I sat reconsidering the whole matter. I referred him to the fact, which had come to me more than once during the few last days, that the officials of the convention in session at Metropolitan Hall, and others, had been saying that women would be received no doubt; that the

Brick Chapel meeting was merely an informal preliminary meeting, and its decisions of no authority upon the convention, proper ; and that the women were unjust in saying, that their brethren would not accept their co-operation before it had been fairly tested. Then, said Phillips, "go by all means; if they receive you, you have only to thank them for rebuking the action of the Brick Chapel meeting. Then we will withdraw and come back to our own meeting. If, on the other hand, they do not receive you, we will quietly and without protest, withdraw, and in that case, not be gone half an hour." I turned and invited one lady, now on this platform, as gentle and lady-like a lady as woman can be, Mrs. C. M. Severance, of your own city, to go with me. She said, "I am quite willing to go, both in compliance with your wish, and from interest in the cause itself. But I am not a delegate, and I have in this city venerated grand-parents, whose feelings I greatly regard, and would not willingly or unnecessarily wound ; so that I prefer to go in quietly, but take no active part in what will seem to them an antagonistic position for woman, and uncalled for on my part. In that way I am quite ready to go."

And so we went out from our own meeting,—Mr. Phillips, Mrs. S. and myself—none others went with us, or knew we were going.

After arriving at Metropolitan Hall, accompanied by these friends, I did quietly what we had predetermined was best to do. The Secretary was sitting upon the platform. I handed him my credentials from both societies. He said, "I cannot now tell whether you will be received or not. There is a resolution before the house, stating, in substance, that they would receive all delegates without distinction of color or sex. If this resolution is adopted, you can be received." I then left my credentials in his hands, and went down from the platform.

It was rather trying, in the sight of all that audience, to go upon the platform and come down again ; and I shall not soon forget the sensations with which I stepped off the platform.

After a little time they decided, that the call admitted all delegates. I thought this decision settled my admission, and I went again upon the platform. In the mean time a permanent organization was effected. I went there, for the purpose of thanking them for their



course, and merely to express my sympathy with the cause, and their present movement ; and then intended to leave the hall. I rose and enquired of the President, Neal Dow, if I was rightly a member of the convention. He said, "yes, if you have credentials from any total abstinence societies." I told him I had, and then attempted to thank him. There was no appeal from the President's decision, but yet they would not receive my expression of thanks ; therefore I took my seat and waited for a better opportunity.

And now let me read a paragraph again from this paper, the Temperance organ of your state. The writer is still Gen. Cary. (The extract intimated that Miss Brown supported and urged on by several others, made an unwomanly entrance into the convention, and upon the platform itself, which was reserved for officers, and as it would imply, already filled.) There were only the two other persons I mentioned who went with me to that convention, but they took their seats back among the audience, and did not approach the platform. There were friends I found in that audience to sustain me, but none others came with me for that purpose. The platform was far from being full ; it is a large platform, and there might a hundred persons sit there, and not incommode each other at all.

(Here Miss Brown read another extract from the same article, in which Gen. Carey implies, that concerted measures had been set on foot at the Woman's Rights meeting at the Tabernacle, the evening after Miss Brown's first attempt at a hearing before the Temperance convention, for coming in upon them again en masse, and revengefully.)

Not a word was said that night upon the subject, in the convention at the Tabernacle, except what was said by myself ; and I said what I did, because some one enquired whether I was hissed on going upon the platform. As to that matter, when I went upon the platform I was *not* hissed, at other times I did not know whether they hissed me or others, and

"Where ignorance is bliss, 'tis folly to be wise !"

I stated some of the facts, to our own convention, but I did not refer to this resolution, (the one which was to exclude all but officers or invited guests from the platform) for I was not entirely clear with

regard to the nature of it, it was passed in so much confusion. I did state this, that there had been a discussion raised upon such a resolution, and that it was decided that only the officers and invited guests should sit upon the platform; but that they had received me as a delegate, and had thus revoked the action of the Brick Chapel meeting, and that on the morrow Neal Dow *might invite me* to sit upon the platform. That was the substance of my remarks, and not one word of objection was taken, or reply made, by our convention.

I read again from this paper. (An extract, implying that among the measures taken to brow-beat the convention into receiving Miss Brown, was the forming of a society instantly, under the special urgency of herself and friends, for this especial object, &c.)

That again is a statement without foundation. I intend to-night to use no harsh words, and I shall say nothing with regard to motives. You may draw your own conclusions in regard to all this. I shall state dispassionately, the simple, literal facts as they occurred, and they may speak for themselves.

When Wendell Phillips went out of the convention, he told persons with whom he came in contact, that a delegate had been received by the President, and that delegate had been insulted, and nobody had risen to sustain her. He said to me too, "I shall not go to-morrow, but do you go. I can do nothing for you, because I am not a delegate." There were a few earnest friends in New York, however, who felt that the rights of a delegate were sacred. They organized a society and appointed just three delegates to that Temperance convention. Those three persons were Wendell Phillips of Boston; Mr. Cleveland, one of the editors of the Tribune; and Mr. Gibbon, son-in-law of the late venerated Isaac T. Hopper. The two last were men from New York City. The question was already decided that women might be received as delegates to that convention; therefore there was no need of appointing any one to insist upon woman's right to appear, and no one was appointed for that purpose.

The next morning we went there with Mr. Phillips, who presented his credentials. During the discussion, Mr. Phillips took part, and persisted in holding the convention to parliamentary rules. He carried in his hand a book of rules, which is received everywhere as

authority, and when he saw that they were wrong, he quoted the standard authority to them.

After a while the preliminary business was disposed of, and various resolutions were brought forward. I rose, and the President said I had the floor. I was invited upon the stand, and was therefore an "invited guest" within their own rules ; but when once there, I was not allowed to speak, although the President said repeatedly that the floor was mine. The opposition arose from a dozen or more around the platform, who were incessantly raising "points of order,"—the extempore bantlings of great minds in great emergencies. For the space of half an hour I endeavored to be heard, but they would not hear me, although as a delegate—and I spoke simply as a delegate—I could have spoken but ten minutes by a law of the house. Twice the President was sustained in his decision by the house ; but finally some one insisted that there might be persons voting in the house, who were not delegates, and it was decided that the Hall should be cleared by the police, and that those who were delegates might come in, one by one, and resume their seats.

There were printed lists of the delegates of the convention, but there were several new delegates whose names were not on the lists. Wendell Phillips and his colleagues were among them. He went to the President and said, "I rely upon you to be admitted to the Hall, for we know that our names are not yet on the list." The President assented. As the delegates returned, the names upon the printed lists were called, and while the rest of us were earnest to be admitted to the house, and while they were examining our credentials and deciding whether or not we should be received, Neal Dow had gone out of the Hall, and Gen. Carey had taken the chair ! The action of a part of the delegates who were in the house while the other part were shut out, was like to nothing that ever had occurred in the annals of parliamentary history. Those persons who came in afterward, asked what was the business before the house, and on being informed, moved that it be reconsidered. The President decided upon putting it to the house, that they had not voted in the affirmative, and would not reconsider. Gen. Carey is a man of firmness, and I could but admire the firmness with which he presided, although I felt that his

decisions were wrong. "Gentlemen," said he, "there can be no order, when you are raising so many points of order ; take your seats !" and they took their seats.

Previous to the adjournment, a question was raised about Wendell Phillips' credentials, and again next morning they raised it and decided it against him, so that he felt all farther effort vain, and left the Hall. After this, there came up a multitude of resolutions, which were passed so rapidly that no one could get the opportunity of speaking to them. A resolution also written by Gen. Carey, was presented by him, as follows :

*"Resolved, That the common usages have excluded women from the public platform, &c.*

That resolution, amid great confusion, was declared as passed. Of course then soon after, I left the Hall. I ought to say, in regard to Mr. Phillips' credentials, that they had been referred to a committee, who decided that he had not properly been sent to the convention, for no reason in the world, but because the society who sent him, had been organized only the night before ; while I know positively, and others knew, that there were societies organized one week before, for the very purpose of sending delegates to that convention ; which societies will never be heard of again, I fear. But the Neal Dow Association, of New York, exists yet. Their society shall not die so, good comes out of evil, often.

A motion was also made by some one, as better justice to Mr. Phillips, to refer the credentials of all the delegates of Massachusetts to the committee on credentials—but for very obvious and prudent reasons, it was not suffered to have a moments hearing or consideration. (Miss Brown here read a few additional lines from the same article, asserting that she was merely the tool of others, and thrust by them upon the platform ; and charging all the disorder and disturbance of that convention, to herself and friends, &c.)

I needed no thrusting upon the platform. I was able to rise and speak without urging or suggestion. And as to the disorder which prevailed, throughout the convention—who made that disorder ? I said not a word to cause it, for they gave me no opportunity to say a word, and the other delegates with me, sat quietly.

No mention is made in this paper, that I had credentials. It is stated, that throughout Ohio, the impression is, that I had none ; and it is generally believed, that I went there, without proper credentials.

One word more as to Mr. Carey. He says "the negro question was not discussed, as Greeley and Co. wished it to be. O Greeley, how art thou fallen !" These are Gen. Carey's words, not mine. Mr. Greeley has risen greatly in my estimation, and not fallen. A colored delegate did take his credentials to the convention, but he was not received. I saw him myself, and asked him what could be done about it. He folded up his hands, and said, it was too late. And this was a "*World's Temperance Convention* !"

And *this* paper says, that the New York *Tribune*, which has usually been an accredited sheet, has most shamefully misrepresented the whole affair, and refers to what was said in the *Tribune*, as to what the convention had accomplished—"The first day, crowding a woman from the platform ; second day, gagging her ; and the third day, voting she should stay gagged ;" and asserts that it is a misrepresentation.

The evenings of that convention were not devoted to this discussion, and were not noisy or fruitless. There were burning words spoken for Temperance, during the evenings ; but whether the *Tribune's* report of the day-sessions be correct or not, you yourselves can be the judges. I must say, however, the *Tribune* did *not* misrepresent that affair in its regular report ; and I call upon Gen. Carey, in all kindness and courtesy, to point out just what the mis-statements are—and upon any one, acquainted with the facts, to show the false statement, if it can be shown.

And now I leave the action of the convention, to say what were our motives, in going there. From what I have related of the circumstances which conspired to induce us to go, and the manner of our going, you can but see that no absurd desire for notoriety, no coveting of such unenviable fame, as we knew must await us, were the inducements. And as a simple fact, there was nothing so very important, in a feeble woman's going as a delegate to that convention ; but the fact was made an unpleasant one in the experience of that delegate, and

was blown into notoriety, by the unmanly action of that convention itself. But what *were* our reasons for going to that convention? Did we go there to forward the cause of Temperance, or to forward the cause of woman; or what were our motives in going? Woman was pleading her own cause in the convention at the Tabernacle, and she had no need that any should go there to forward her cause for her; and much as I love temperance, and love those poor sisters who suffer because of intemperance, it was not especially to plead their cause, that I went there. I went to assert a principle, a principle relevant to the circumstances of the World's Convention, to be sure, but one at the same time, which, acknowledged, must forward all good causes, and disregarded, must retard them. I went there, asking no favor as a woman, asking no special recognition of the woman cause. I went there in behalf of the cause of humanity. I went there, asking the endorsement of no *ism*, and as the exponent of no measure, but as a simple item of the world, in the name of the world, claiming, that all the sons and daughters of the race, should be received in that convention, if they went there with the proper credentials. I simply planted my feet upon the rights of a delegate. I asked for nothing more, and dare take nothing less. The principle which we were there to assert, was that which is the soul of the Golden Rule, the soul of that which says, "All things, whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do, ye even so unto them." I went there to see if they would be true to their own call, and recognize delegates without distinction of color, sex, creed, party, or condition; to see if they would recognize each member of the human family, as belonging to the human family; to see if they would grant the simple rights of a delegate, to all delegates.

And do you ask, did this not retard the cause of Temperance? No! it carried it forward, as it carries every good cause forward. It awakened thought, and mankind need only to be aroused to thought, to forever destroy all wrong customs, and among them, the rum traffic. They need only to think to the purpose, and when this shall be done, all good causes are bound to go forward together. Christianity is the heart and soul of them all, and those reforms which seek to elevate mankind and better their condition, cling around our Chris-

tianity, and are a part of it. They are like the cluster of grapes, all clinging about the central stem.

A wrong was done in that convention to a delegate, and many people saw and felt that wrong, and they began to enquire for the cause of it ; and so the causes of things were searched more nearly than before, and this was a good which promoted Temperance. It is absurd to believe, that any man or woman, is any the less a temperance man or woman, or a "Maine Law" man or woman, now, than before. If ever they loved that cause, they love it now as before.

Water is the very symbol of democracy ! a single jet of it in a tube, will balance the whole ocean. We went there, only to claim, in the name of Democracy and Christianity, that *all* be treated alike and impartially. The human soul is a holy thing, it is the temple of living joy or sorrow. It is freighted with vital realities. It can outlengthen Heaven itself,—and it should be revered everywhere, and treated always as a holy thing. We only went there in the name of the world, in the name of humanity, to promote a good cause ; and it is what I pledge myself now anew, to do, at all times and under all circumstances, when the opportunity shall present itself to me. It was a good act, a Christian duty, to go there, under those circumstances.

But let me now leave this matter, and say something which may have a direct bearing upon the circumstances of our convention, and show why it is proper to bring up these facts here.

Let us suppose ourselves gathered in Metropolitan Hall. It is a large hall, with two galleries around its sides. I could see men up there in checked blouses, who looked as though they might disturb a convention, but they looked down upon the rowdiness of the platform, a thing unprecedented before, with simple expressions of wonder, while they were quiet. Well, here we are, upon the platform. The President is speaking.

PRESIDENT.—"Miss Brown has the floor."

A DELEGATE.—"Mr. President, I rise to a point of order."

PRESIDENT.—"State your point of order."

It is stated, but at the same time, in the general whirl and confusion, all around, another voice from the floor exclaims :

"I rise to a point of order !"

THE PRESIDENT.—"State it !"

But while all these things are going on, a voice arises.: "She shan't speak !" another, "She shan't be heard !" another, "You raise a point of order when he is done, and I will raise another." In the confusion, I hear something, almost like swearing, but *not* swearing, for most of those men are "holy men," who do not think of swearing. The confusion continues. Most of this time I am standing, but presently a chair is presented me, and now a new class of comforters gathers round me, speaking smooth consoling words in my ear, while upon the other side, are angry disputants, clinching their fists and growing red in the face. Are the former good Samaritans, pouring into my wounded heart the oil and the wine ? Listen. "I know you are acting conscientiously ; but now you have made your protest, do for your own sake, withdraw from this disgraceful scene."

"I cannot withdraw," I say ; "it is not now the time to withdraw ; here is a principle at stake."

"Well, in what way can you better the cause ? Do you feel you are doing any good ?" Another voice chimes in with, "Do you love the Temperance cause ? Can you continue here and see all this confusion prevailing around you ? Why not withdraw, and then the convention will be quiet ;"—and all this in most mournful, dolorous tones. I think if the man cries, I shall certainly cry too.

But then a new interval of quiet occurs, and so I rise to get the floor. I fancy myself in a melting mood enough to beg them with prayers and tears to be just and righteous ; but no, "this kind goeth not out by prayer and fasting," and so I stand up again. Directly Rev. John Chambers, points his finger at me and calls aloud, "Shame on the woman ! Shame on the woman !" Then I feel cool and calm enough again, and sit down until his anger has way. Again the "friends" gather around me, and there come more appeals to me, while the public ear is filled with "points of order ;" and the two fall together, in a somewhat odd, but very pointed contrast, somewhere in the centre of my brain. "Do you think," says one, "that *Christ*



would have done so?" spoken with a somewhat negative emphasis. "I think he would," spoken with a *positive* emphasis. "Do you love peace so well, as Christ loved it, and can you do thus?"

What answer I made, I know not, but there come rushing over my soul, the words of Christ, "I came not to send peace, but a sword." It seems almost to be spoken with an audible voice, and it sways the spirit more than all things else. I remember that Christ's doctrine was, *first* pure, then peaceable;" that he too, was persecuted. So are my doctrines good; they ask only for the simple rights of a delegate, only that which must be recognized as just, by the impartial Father of the human race, and by his holy Son. Then come these mock pleading tones again upon my ear, and instinctively I think of the Judas kiss, and I arise, turning away from them all, and feeling a power which may, perhaps, never come to me again. There were angry men confronting me, and I caught the flashing of defiant eyes; but above me, and within me, and all around me, there was a spirit stronger than they all. At that moment, not the combined powers of earth and hell, could have tempted me to do otherwise than to stand firm. Moral and physical cowardice were subdued, thanks to that Washington delegate, for the sublime strength, roused by his question, "Would Christ have done so?"

That stormy scene is passed; that memorable time, when chivalrous men forgot the deference, which, according to their creed, is due to woman, and forgot it, as they publicly said, because a woman claimed a right upon the platform; and so they neither recognized her equality of rights, nor her conceded courtesy as a lady. This was neither just nor gallant, but to me it was vastly preferable, to those appeals made to me as a lady—appeals which never would have been made to a man, under the same circumstances; and which only served to show me the estimation in which they held womanhood. It reminded me of a remark which was made, concerning the Brick Chapel meeting: "If you had spoken words of flattery, they would have done what you wanted."

Let the past, be the past. "Let the dead bury their dead," contain truths we well may heed. Is God the impartial Father of humanity? Is He no respecter of persons? Is it true that there is

known neither male nor female, in Christ Jesus ? In my heart of hearts, I believe it is all true. I believe it is the foundation of the Golden Rule. And now let me tell you in conclusion, if it be true, this truth shall steal into your souls like the accents of childhood ; it shall come like a bright vision of hope, to the desponding ; it shall flash upon the incredulous, it shall twine like a chain of golden arguments about the reason of the skeptic.

That which is right, is right eternally, both for man and for woman. Where God has given ability, to act in any direction, he has given the right to act. Then remember, that idea is written in the book of fate. Pens dipped in gall, may essay to efface the record ; dark waters of selfish malice may flow over it ; fires kindled in Hades may pour their flames upon it, but yet, it shall assert itself as the unfailing law of the harmonious universe of God.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON. — Having listened to the narration of the action of the World's Convention, in New York, I rise to offer some resolutions, by which the sense of this convention may be obtained. I happened to be an eye-witness of these proceedings, and I bear witness to the accuracy of the account, given us this evening, by Miss Brown. I have seen many tumultuous meetings in my day, but I think on no occasion have I ever seen anything more disgraceful to our common humanity, than when Miss Brown attempted to speak upon the platform of the World's Temperance Convention, in aid of the glorious cause which had brought that convention together. It was an outbreak of passion, contempt, indignation, and every vile emotion of the soul, throwing into the shade almost everything coming from the vilest of the vile, that I have ever witnessed on any occasion, or under any circumstances ; venerable men, claiming to be holy men, the ambassadors of Jesus Christ, losing all self respect, and transforming themselves into the most unmannerly and violent spirits, merely on account of the sex of the individual, who wished to address the assembly.

Miss Brown was asked, while standing on the platform, "Do you love the Temperance cause ?" What could have been more insulting than such a question as that, at that moment ? What but the Temperance cause, had brought her to the convention. Why had

she been delegated to take her seat in that body, except on the ground, that she was a devoted friend of the Temperance enterprise, and had an interest in every movement pertaining to the total abstinence cause? She had been delegated there by total abstinence societies, because of her fitness as a temperance woman, to advocate the Temperance cause, so dear to the hearts of all those who love perishing humanity. Was it *the love of the Temperance cause* that raised the out-cry against her? or, was it not simply contempt of woman, and an unwillingness that she should stand up anywhere, to bear her testimony against popular wrongs and crimes, the curses of the race?

MISS BROWN. — Allow me to state one incident. A Doctor of Divinity was present at the meeting. His son and daughter-in-law, stated to me the fact. "I said to my father, you had stormy times at the convention, to-day." "Yes," said the father, "stormy times." Said the son—"why didn't you allow her to speak?" "Ah," said the Doctor, "it was the principle of the thing!" But it so happened that the son and daughter, thought the principle a wrong one.

MR. GARRISON.—Yes, it was the principle, that was at stake. It was not simply the making of a speech, at that convention, by a woman. By her speaking, something more was implied, for if woman could speak there, and for that object, she might speak elsewhere, for another object, and she might, peradventure, as my friend does, proceed to occupy a pulpit, and settle over a congregation. In fact, there is no knowing where the precedent would lead; reminding me of the man who hesitated to leave off his profanity, because, having left that off, he should have to leave off drinking, and if he left off drinking, he should have to leave off his tobacco and other vile habits. He liked symmetry of character, and so he was unwilling to take the first step toward reform.

The principle for which Miss Brown contended, was this: every society has a right to determine who shall represent it in convention. Invitation was given to the "whole world," to meet there in convention, to promote the cause of Temperance. Our friend needed no credentials under the call. It is true, all societies were invited to send delegates, but in addition to that, all the friends of Temperance, throughout the world, were expressly and earnestly invited to be

present, and under that last express invitation, she had a right to come in as an earnest friend of the cause, and take her seat in the convention. When a body like that comes together, the principle is this, each delegate stands on the same footing, as every other delegate, and no one delegate, nor any number of delegates, has a right to exclude any other delegate, who has been sent there by any like society. Our friend had credentials from two societies, and thus was doubly armed ; but she was put down by a most disgraceful minority of the convention, who succeeded in carrying their point. In view of all this, I would present, for the action of this convention, the following resolutions :

WHEREAS, a cordial invitation having been extended to all temperance societies, and all the friends of Temperance, throughout the world, to meet, personally, or by delegates, in a "World's Temperance Convention," in the city of New York, Sept. 6th and 7th, 1853 :

And whereas, accepting this invitation in the spirit in which it was apparently given, the "South Butler Temperance Association," and the "Rochester Toronto Division of the Sons of Temperance," duly empowered the Rev. Antoinette L. Brown, to act in that convention, as their delegate, representative and advocate :

And whereas, on presenting herself at the time specified, her credentials were received by the committee on the roll of the convention, but, on rising to address the assembly, (though declared by the President to be entitled to the floor, and although his decision was repeatedly sustained by a majority of the delegates,) she was met with derisive outcries, insulting jeers, and the most rowdyish manifestations, by a shameless minority,—led on by the Rev. John Chambers, of Philadelphia, and encouraged by Gen. Carey, of Ohio, and other professed friends of the Temperance cause—so as to make it impossible for her to be heard, and thus virtually excluding her from the convention, in an ignominious manner, solely on account of her being a woman ; therefore,

*Resolved*, That in the judgment of this convention, the treatment received by the Rev. Antoinette L. Brown, in the "World's Temperance Convention," (falsely so called) was in the highest degree disgraceful to that body, insulting to the societies whose credentials

she bore, worthy only of those who are filled with strong drink, and a scandal to the Temperance movement.

*Resolved*, That the thanks of this convention be given to Miss Brown, for having accepted the credentials so honorably proffered to her, by the temperance societies aforesaid, and claiming a right, not as a woman, but as a duly authorized delegate, an eloquent and devoted advocate of the Temperance enterprise, to a seat and voice in the "World's Temperance Convention;" and for the firm, dignified and admirable manner, in which she met the storm of opprobrium and insult, which so furiously assailed her, on her attempting to advocate the beneficent movement, for the promotion of which, the convention was expressly called together. \*

HON. JOSHUA R. GIDDINGS. — Ladies and gentlemen, although I had designed to take no active part in the proceedings, I cannot avoid rising, to second that resolution. When I learned of the appointing of this convention, it brought a thrill of joy to me. I had read the transactions to which the lady has made such feeling allusion. I had read and mourned over them, and I rejoiced that an opportunity was to be given to the people of Cleveland, and this western reserve, to tender their thanks to this convention, which had been appointed to meet upon the shores of Lake Erie; and that they also might see what sort of a greeting the friends of the rights of woman, would receive here. And I now rejoice at the hearty manner in which the convention has proceeded. I rejoice at the treatment the convention has received. Then I was about to say, the fogies of New York, if they could see and know all that they might see here, would not be like some spirits, whom Swedenburg says he saw in the other world. He found spirits who had been departed several years, who had not yet learned that they were dead. I think Rev. John Chambers would now look down and begin to suspect that he had departed.

My friends, I know not how the remarks of Miss Brown fell upon your ears. I can only say, that they struck me with deep feelings of mortification, that at this noontide of the nineteenth century any human being, who can give her thoughts to an assembly in the eloquent manner in which she has spoken to us, has been treated as she was; and when this resolution of reproof, by my friend from Massachusetts

was presented, I resolved to rise and second it, and express myself willing, that it be sent out in the report, that I most heartily concur in the expressions contained in these resolutions.

WM. L. GARRISON.—I wish to make one statement in regard to Gen. Carey, to show that he does not himself act on consistent principles, in this matter. The last No. of the *Pennsylvania Freeman* contains an account of a temperance gathering, held in Kennett square. That square is for that region the head quarters of Abolitionists, Liberals, Come-outers and so forth. In that meeting, women were appointed for Vice Presidents and Secretaries, with men, and there was a complete mixture throughout the committees, without regard to sex ; and who do you think were those who spoke on that occasion, recognizing that woman was equal with man in that gathering ? The first was G. W. Jackson, of Boston, who made himself very conspicuous in the exclusion of women, from the "World's Convention ; second, Judge O'Neil, of South Carolina, who spoke at New York, and who was also very active in the efforts to exclude Miss Brown ; last of all was Gen. Carey, of Ohio ; and three days afterward, they wended their way to New York, and there conspired with others, to prevent a delegate from being admitted, on the ground of being a woman ; showing, that while at old Kennett, they were willing to conform, finding it would be popular ; in New York they joined in this brutal proscription of a woman, only, because she was a woman.

LUCY STONE.—I know it is time to take the question upon these resolutions, but I wish to say one word. When a World's Convention of any kind is called—when the Rev'd. Drs. Chambers, Hewett, Marsh, and I don't know how many more, backed up by a part of those who were in that Convention, are ready to ignore the existence of woman, it should show us something of the amount of labor we have to do, to teach the world even to know that we are a part of it ; and when women tell us they don't want any more rights, I want them to know that they are held to have no right in any *World's Convention*. I took up a book the other day, written by the Rev. Mr. Davis, in which he sketches the events of the last, fifty years. He states that the Sandwich Islands, at one time, had one Missionary, at such a station ; Mr. Green—and *his wife!* Then he went on to state

another where there were nineteen, and—their wives! Now these are straws on the surface, but they indicate “which way the wind blows,” and indicate, in some sense, the estimation in which woman is held. I mention these facts so that we may see something of the length of the way we must tread, before we shall even be recognized.

The resolutions were then voted upon, and adopted unanimously and heartily.

On motion, Convention adjourned to 10, A. M.

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### THIRD DAY—MORNING SESSION.

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Convention called to order pursuant to adjournment.

The proceedings of the previous day having been read,

MRS. SEVERANCE read a letter from Miss Mary F. Thomas, of Pa., pupil of and on behalf of the Pennsylvania Female Medical College; also, from Mrs. Eliza B. Strong, Secretary of the Middlebury, Knox county, Woman's Rights Association. In reply to some sentence of the latter,

LUCY STONE, rose and said:—Women, “who would be free, themselves must strike the blow.” It is not man that can loose the chains. He cannot take us up, and give us a resurrection to any life. Our destiny is in our own hands. Suppose all the sources of education were open to woman as to man, and there were in her no disposition to use them. Suppose the tree of knowledge stands with the fences all taken away, and we might if we would gather the leaves for our healing, and we did not choose to do it, would the fact that the fences were gone, do us any good?

We must not ask men to take us up, and lead us out of our position. We must do something besides work little “cats on our footstools,” while we are working “consumption into our lungs.” We need not ask man to aid us, unless we are ourselves conscious that we need a better life. Then, what we have to do, is to arouse ourselves, and secure it for ourselves. There is no other arm to help us. After all, we are our own best helpers, and if we do not help ourselves, it is vain in us to expect help from others. We can make our claims

just and strong in the truth. We need not go here and there, trusting to this man's or that man's strong arm to help us up ; if we take hold, hand in hand ourselves, we need not ask any other. I know we have always been accustomed to lean upon man, and I am sick to death of it, for we have always had a serpent and stone instead of bread. Let us take the rights we want, and by our use of them show that we deserve them.

One word about Female Colleges. I do abhor, with a depth of abhorrence I cannot express, all Female Schools. I look upon them as I do upon the Negro pews in our churches; and for the same reason. The world has not learned to educate men and women together. Our churches put off the Negro into one corner, because he is not recognized as fit to sit with others. It is that same spirit which has caused Female Schools to spring up all over the country. And now, while we have Colleges everywhere, not by any means full of Students—we never yet heard one of them complain of being overrun with students—the Medical and Literary Colleges, and the Law Schools ; while they are built and endowed, and all the expense has been incurred for them, and for the support of which woman has been taxed, it seems to me the most foolish outlay of money to build special Female Colleges, and attempt to give them Professors, when there is not a sufficient demand for them.

I would say, then, instead of going to Female Schools—for Female Schools are not, and cannot yet be as good as the others—let us go to those which are already endowed and make our demand in earnest, and we shall get it. There are some colleges which are admitting women to a partial course, and they will soon admit them to the whole. God made man to be with woman everywhere. As in the family, the sons and daughters grow up together, so in the schools there should not be a divorce of what God has put together. Never think, then, of the idea of putting off the women in one pew, and the men in the other, as they do in the Quaker Meeting Houses.

Mrs. F. D. GAGE.—In one of the letters referred to by Miss Stone, there was an allusion to the struggle of our forefathers for independence, and a very happy allusion it was too ; but did not our foremothers also share in that struggle for independence ? Did they not



stand heart to heart in it? They did not go forth to fight the battles to be sure, but they stayed at home and preserved that sacred place and treasures for those who did go. They bound the sword upon the thigh of husbands, and sons, and sent them forth to battle, and, perhaps, did as much in this way, as those who went forth. They showed a great deal of independence and self-sacrifice too. If I read history aright our mothers refused to drink the tea, when it was taxed by John Bull; but I believe our daughters sip it without any thought of its being taxed by Brother Jonathan. We are taxed still without the right of representation. (Mrs. Gage here read a letter from B. W. Richmond, of Ohio, and continued.) When I was about ten years old, I heard a Woman's Rights argument which I never forgot; and as I never like to steal anything from another, I will give it as nearly as possible, in the words in which it was spoken at the time. The speaker was a poor, drunken washerwoman, whom the lady of a distiller in the town, had been reproving for her bad habits:

"Hetty, why do you drink so?—it's bad enough for your husband to be always tipsy. Men will have their privileges, but woman should not do those things."

Hetty turned a big quid of tobacco round and round in her mouth, looking up in the meantime at the speaker, and throwing back her hood with a hearty laugh, said:—

"It's why I drink, is it, you're asking? I drinks for the very best of reasons—'cause I am dry. It's no fine gowns you'd be getting, if somebody didn't drink the thruck your husband is busy as a bee in the buckwheat a-making. And my husband may drink it, you say? If there's any good in the critter, I've a right to my share. If it's strength, which wants it most, him with his great strong frame and iron fist, that would send me a sailing over the house—or me, that is only five feet three in the slippers that my mother gave me? It's a pack of fools ye women all are here in Ameriky—letting your men drink and chew and smoke, and have all the good things—and ye think it's just well enow, that same, for them; but ye must not wooch a bit of it.

"But, arrah, my lady—if there's good in the tobacco, I'll have my share—if there's pleasure in the toddy, I'll share that too—if an oath

relieves the conscience, I'll out with it. Your men arn't going to git ahead of me, and if it arn't right for me to do these things," she continued, letting her voice fall, and speaking in deep, solemn tones, "it arn't right for nobody ; and your own man, good lady, who drinks and chaws, and smokes, and swears—too, asking your ladyship's pardon for spaking the same—is far worse nor poor folks. For is it a larned man he is, the master in law, and rich ; and don't he know better than poor, weak, ignorant fools, like me and George ; and yet he is every day making the wicked hell waters for us, and bidding us drink, and taking from us our nice bit of earnings, and sending us, body and soul, to perdition in this world and the world to come."

Poor old Hetty, she had a heart, and it was stirred, and the big tear-drops fell from her merry grey eyes, as she resumed her washing.

The distiller's wife had a noble soul, and she wept bitter tears of sorrow. Through her influence, before many months, the fires of her husband's distillery had ceased to glow.

JOSEPH BARKER.—In accordance with the announcement made last evening, that the objections made by the clerical orders to this movement, would be noticed this morning, I proceed to speak upon that subject. Some eight or ten individuals have visited me this morning, to request me not to speak on this subject, or if I did, to speak in such a way as not to give occasion to any adversary to denounce the movement. I give the friends who have come to me, credit for the best of motives, and will pay as much regard to their request as I can, and as is consistent with my regard for truth and duty.

I would, however, if I could, allay their fears with respect to danger to the movement. I would remind them of what Lucy Stone has said ; that nothing can possibly happen to a good cause that would injure it. Now, if a statement like this can be made with regard to malignant opposition, I think the same may be said with regard to an advocate, if he happened to fall into opposition to a movement upon a particular point. If a man who seeks to injure a cause cannot do it any harm, surely a man who advocates a cause cannot injure it, if he makes the best efforts, in his judgment, to promote his wishes.

As to the fear that what I may say would give occasion for this

movement being characterized as an infidel one, it is too late to express such fears. They should have been expressed at the outset. Words have been uttered adverse to this movement, denunciations have come against this cause already ; as much has been cast upon it, as can be cast upon it, and nothing, in future, can be said, worse than has already been said. Things so bad have already been said against the leaders of this movement, that I would not condescend to repeat them on the present occasion. The worst charges that can be made against the Woman's Rights movement in the estimation of those who made them, have been whispered in my ears already, as insinuations were whispered in the ears of Miss Brown in New York.

[Some one in the audience inquired to what resolution Mr. Barker was speaking.]

MR. BARKER.—I am speaking to all the resolutions, and was considering some objections preferred against these resolutions, by the priesthood of this and other countries. The worst charge brought against this movement is that of infidelity, especially in this country. You have heard it from a hundred voices, and you have read it in almost every paper which has noticed this movement at all. A few papers are noticing it favorably, but the generality of papers, and especially those edited by priests, denounce this cause as an infidel movement. If you wish to find advocates in the papers, you must go to those edited by men of the world.

MR. ADDISON.—There are exceptions.

MR. BARKER.—I am the first speaker in this Convention who has been interrupted. I was anxious at first to bring my remarks within as narrow a compass as possible, but after the spirit of opposition which has been displayed, I am inclined to break through my resolution, and speak at full length. Those who disturb me, will have to thank themselves for being the cause of it. No person is obliged to listen to me, as he is not to any other person. I do particularly trust that all friends of the movement will endeavor to compose themselves with regard to those who differ from them.

I ask no favor, but justice. I stand up to plead, not against this cause, but in favor of it, as much so as any one who differs from me in certain opinions which I hold. I have a wife, daughter, sister, and

sister's children. I and my posterity are as much interested in this cause as you can be ; and if you can, I wish you would give me credit for a real love for the cause. I assure you I will not utter one word to injure it, if I know it. I am a firm believer in the sentiment of Miss Stone, to which I have alluded.

The subject I propose to discuss, will have to be discussed, and if I don't do it, somebody else will. The objection will be uttered, and repeated through every clerical paper throughout this land. It will have to be met on one or two grounds, which I intend to indicate.

There are but two answers which the priests make to this movement—and never imagine that you can carry on any reform without provoking hostility, or bringing against yourselves reproach. I know many a reformer commences a work, who thinks he can do better than other reformers; especially do young reformers. They think they can accomplish everything without subjecting themselves to reproaches ; but they find out their error. They discover that the opposition arose not from anything particularly indiscreet in the manner of reformers, but from the tendency of the reform itself to interfere with established institutions, powers, and governments. You cannot effect a reform, without reproach and persecution, unless you can catch both the devil outside and the devil inside of mankind asleep, sometimes, and keep him asleep ; and even then, when he should wake up, he would make all the more frightful efforts to get you in his claws. It is utterly impossible for you to advance any reform without making a great hubbub.

It has been told me, that some people have been converted to the Woman's Rights movement since this Convention commenced its sessions, and it would be a pity to destroy all the good that has been done. But those persons will have to climb over as large stumbling blocks as any I shall lay in their way. They will have to be tried, and if they cannot endure, they will have to go back, and perhaps be seven times as bad as they were before. They may as well learn it soon as late. But all are not converted who say they are. Some come and pretend to be converted, in order to influence the course of the movement, to divert and disarm it, but not to promote the prosperity and triumph of the cause itself.

I do not appear here as an opponent of the divine origin of the Bible ; nor as the opponent of the clergy of this country ; nor as the enemy of the church, nor of any church in particular. I appear here simply as the advocate of Woman's Rights, and as the friend of this great reform. I have my opinions about the Bible, and about the Church, and it is possible that these opinions may slip out, just as those who differ from me cannot, or do not, conceal *their* opinions. You cannot read a letter here, without its appearing whether the writer ranks himself among the believers in the priesthood, or the believers in the right of individuality in faith. They let their opinions slip, because they cannot help it. If a man be a christian, he argues on christian principles ; but if he is a man of the world, he will argue on natural principles, and you must take them as they are given.

The objections which are urged against this movement by the priesthood, are the strongest objections which can be urged against it. They have the most weight, and they are uttered under circumstances most favorable for the increase of their power, and under circumstances which prevent you from answering them. They are uttered by men, who are believed to be the especial servants of God, and ambassadors of Christ. They are uttered in the pulpit, which is protected by the laws of the country. No person is permitted to offer any public objection against words spoken publicly in the pulpit. They are uttered in connection with the solemn assertions, that those who do not receive them will be condemned in eternal torments, and that those who do receive them are in a fair way to obtain eternal glory and blessedness. They are uttered, too, in the hearing of people who most give heed to them, and have the least power to answer them. It becomes us, then, to direct our attention to them. If we can answer them, we can make this movement general ; if we cannot, we must utterly fail to make it general. This the Woman's Rights movement must do, and it cannot stir many inches before it comes against this insuperable barrier.

The belief of the priesthood is grounded on the Bible. They believe it is the word of God, or contains God's word, every word spoken for man's salvation. They say, and the common belief is, that the Scriptures are a collection of divine oracles, that everything which

the Scriptures say is true, everything which they command is good, everything which they deny is false, everything which they forbid is sin ; in a word, that the Jewish and Christian Scriptures are a perfect revelation of God's will to mankind, a perfect standard of truth and duty.

This is the doctrine which is universally received by the orthodox priesthods and churches of this country, as well of many other countries of the world. Their argument is this—these Scriptures which are from God, which are of Divine authority, which are true without any mixture of error, are against the Woman's Rights movement. These Scriptures unfold principles contradictory to those on which the Woman's Rights movement is based. These Scriptures appoint to woman a place, from which this movement seeks to raise woman. The Woman's Rights movement is based, therefore, on infidel principles ; its object is an ungodly object, because the movement itself is an effort against God, against his truth, and against his institutions. This is the grand objection which is made against the movement by all the orthodox priesthods in this and every other country in Christendom.

All we have to do now, is to inquire whether this objection is a valid one. The priests believe it to be so. When I was a believer in the Divine origin, in the absolute authority of the Bible—when I was a Methodist Preacher, I believed it to be so. I had not a doubt that woman's place was below man, that a woman who resisted her husband, resisted God ; that a man who attempted to raise woman above subjection to man, warred with God—whether he knew it or not—and was a disbeliever in God's word, and an opponent of God's established institutions.

I have said that this question has to be met. I see no reason why any one should be in fear, when we have to meet it. All we have to do, is to treat opponents respectfully, and leave every one's remarks to be freely judged of by all who listen. My own opinion is, that *granting the premises of the priesthood*, their objections are valid ; that *granting the Bible to be the word of God* ; *granting that it is true without error* ; that it is a faultless standard of all sound moral philosophy and true Theology, then I say the priest is impregnable, you cannot meet him without suffering defeat.

But I may be wrong. I am perfectly free to grant that I regard the Woman's Rights movement, in the common sense of the word, a right movement; and I grant that in *my* opinion, in advocating the movement, I am acting the part of a disbeliever in the Bible, and every one who does advocate it, is also, in my opinion, acting the part of a disbeliever, and he must be so regarded by every honest priest in this country—and I believe there are such. The fact that some evil ones are getting expelled, is a proof that there are some honest priests among them.

I will briefly refer to those portions of Scripture, on which the the clergy of the day rely, as opposed to Woman's Rights. The first passage to which I shall refer and to which the priests refer, is to be found in Genesis, third chapter. There it is taught that in consequence of the transgression of the first woman, woman is subjected to her husband. I will read the curse, so far as it refers to woman, and you will judge for yourselves :

"Unto the woman he said, I will greatly multiply thy sorrow and thy conception. In sorrow thou shalt bring forth children, and thy desire shall be to thy husband, and he shall rule over thee." Perhaps the best comment on any passage of Scripture, is in parallel passages. We may, therefore, refer to the words of Paul. He, plainly referring to this part of the Old Testament, says : "Let your women keep silence in the churches, for it is not permitted unto them to speak, as also saith the law." I know nothing in the law which prescribes obedience, unless the passage in Genesis says so. I see a marginal note in this Bible translates : "and thy desire shall be to thy husband," into this, "thy desire shall be subject to thy husband," that is, he shall decide what desire shall be gratified, and what resisted. In another passage, Paul refers to the same subject. "Let the women learn in silence with all subjection; but I suffer not a woman to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man but to be in silence; for Adam was first formed, then Eve; and Adam was not deceived, but the woman being deceived, was in the transgression."

Here then we have the matter put in three forms—first, the woman's desire is to be subject to the husband's will; second, the woman is to be in obedience, as saith the law; third, she is to be in subjection,

because she was deceived, and the man was not deceived. Whatever rights the woman had before the fall—and according to the Scripture hypothesis I know not what they were—I should judge from that passage that the author of it believed that previous to the first transgression, man and woman were equal, and that neither was ruler ; but in consequence of this fall, just as the man was subjected to death for sin, so woman was subjected to her husband on account of her transgression ; and especially on this account, that she was *first* in the transgression, that she was deceived, and not man was deceived.

These passages show, that whatever rights of equality she once had, she forfeited them. If there had been no passage in the Bible on this subject, except that one in Genesis, we might suppose that on account of the evil she brought upon the world, the first woman, only, forfeited her rights, and that her offspring might have their rights ; but Paul plainly says, that the curse was extended to all her offspring, and that every woman descended from Eve, is on that account bound to be in obedience to her husband ; and her husband is entitled to rule over her, and refuse or fail to gratify her desires, as he may think fit.

There are some other passages in the New Testament which bear upon this point, and which profess to give additional reasons why man should be the lord, and woman the subject. These passages we may find in the first Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians, and his Epistle to Timothy. One of these reasons is that “man is the head of the woman, just as Christ is the head of man,” and God the head of Christ ; that woman is the glory of man, just as man is the glory of Christ, or Christ the glory of God. The argument is, that man was made first, and on that ground woman is to be in subjection, and man have the pre-eminence, for “man was first formed” and then Eve ; that man was not made for woman, but woman for man, and on that account woman should be perfectly subject to man, and he should consult her welfare, just so far as is identical with his interest, and no farther.

We know the interpretation that man is not made for institutions, but institutions for man, as “man was not made for the Sabbath, but the Sabbath for man.” It means that the Sabbath must give way



whenever man's interests require ; and institutions must be trampled upon whenever man's developments require it. It means that the institution has no right to respect or reverence, or to be spared in any way whatever, at the expense of man ; that man is in fact, next to God, the only being whose interests should be regarded ; and that woman should not be regarded, except so far as she is conducive to the happiness, the glory and the welfare of man. This passage appears to me to treat woman not as an individual but as a thing ; not as an end, but as a means ; not as one whose happiness is to be promoted on her own account at all, but whose happiness, education, place in society, and duty, are all subservient to man ; and who is to be treated in all things simply as an instrument for man's elevation, pleasure, security and happiness. This doctrine, that woman was made for man and not man for woman, not only excludes any idea that woman is to be equal with him, but that in every case woman should be subject unto him.

There is another passage, which gives another reason for man's superiority and woman's subjection. It is this, that "man was not of the woman, but woman was of the man," that man was not taken from the side of woman, at the creation, but woman was taken from the ribs of the man, and that she therefore has no title to herself. She was made of the materials of man's body, therefore she is to be regarded as man's property, subservient to, and dependent upon him ; just as the branch depends upon the tree, so the woman made out of man, formed of materials supplied by the man, must be entirely subservient to man's authority, pleasure and interest.

There are some other passages which bear directly upon this subject, but they are of a character similar to those which I have quoted. Their meaning and tendency are plainly the same, it is not therefore necessary to refer to them. But there is another order of passages which does deserve to be noticed. Paul, in perfect accordance with the wording and the spirit of all these scriptures, represents that women should be subject to their husbands in all things, just as the Church is subject to Christ, in all things. Christ, according to the scripture theory, is absolute in authority and power. The will of the Church is nothing, unless it be in harmony with the will of Christ.

Every movement of the Church is false and wicked, which is not in accordance with the will and law of Christ. The Church is therefore required to be in absolute subjection to Christ ; and the woman is to be subject to her husband in all things, as her husband is subject unto Christ. It is impossible to command an absolute subjection in plainer and more absolute words. I know it is said that the word "subjection," does not imply obedience. I differ from the friend, who takes that view. The word subjection does imply obedience, as certainly as that one subject to a ruler, implies obedience to the ruler. But suppose it did not imply obedience, it certainly implies inferiority, and that is all we have to contend for. But even if the word "subjection" does not imply obedience, there is a passage where obedience is expressly commanded. You read in Paul, that "the woman is to be in obedience to her husband, as also saith the law ;" and if you go to the words of Peter, on this same subject, you will find that he uses both the words, that he requires women to be both subject and obedient. You will also discover that his words are in perfect agreement, when he requires "the wife to be subject to the husband in all things," bad as well as good. You will find, that what Peter requires, is, that the example of the ancient women, should be followed by all women, and that the especial example he cites, is a wicked example : "Likewise ye wives be in subjection to your own husbands, that if any obey not the word, they also may without the word, be won by the godly conversation of their wives ; whose adorning let it not be that outward adorning of plaiting the hair or of wearing of gold, or of putting on of apparel ; but let it be of the hidden man of the heart, in that which is not corruptible, even the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit, which in the sight of God is of great price. For after this manner in the old time, the holy women also, who trusted in God adorned themselves, being in subjection unto their own husbands ; even as Sarah obeyed Abraham, calling him lord ; whose daughters ye are so long as ye do well, and are not afraid with any amazement."

Now mark, the husbands are not Christian husbands, who may be supposed to be well instructed in Christian principles. These women are the wives of Pagan, worldly, unconverted husbands ; for the

Apostle, you see, recommends this obedience as a means of the conversion of their husbands. Here then, we have both subjection and obedience enjoined upon wives, and that, to their pagan husbands. These wives are promised, that provided they do obey, they shall be daughters of Sarah. Our friends know, that the only commands put upon Sarah, according to the record, were to tell certain lies for Abraham's benefit. He was traveling into another country, as we are expressly told, in the Jewish scriptures, and he feared that if the people of that country found that Sarah was his wife, some one might become in love with her, and might kill him to get possession of her ; so he instructed her to say she was his sister, and then they could take Sarah without feeling it necessary to kill Abraham ; and "Sarah obeyed." (A voice in the audience, Sarah *was* his sister.)

MR. BARKER.—Then father Abraham was living in just as bad a state, for incest is as bad as lying,—at least I judge so,—and perhaps a little worse. However, she was not the sister of Abraham. She was the daughter of one of Abraham's parents, but not the daughter of the other. No matter about that, however, she was to obey Abraham, and you are to be privileged to be called her daughters, so long as you imitate her example. (Another interruption.)

MR. BARKER.—I would recommend those who interrupt me, to take notes of what I say, and reply to me when I am done. (A voice : We shall not have time.)

MR. BARKER.—I will tell you what I will do, if you who oppose me, will give me time to discuss this subject fully. I will stay here ten days to hear, and will take ten days to reply—if that time is necessary,—and I am a farmer, and at this season of the year, you may well suppose, my time is as valuable as anybody's. (A voice : I tell you, those opposed *can't get a chance to answer.*)

MR. BARKER.—You tell a lie, sir ! (Hisses.) I shall leave the priests to have all the honor of interrupting me to themselves. I believe I have stated the argument of the priesthood correctly. I believe I have done it justice. All that I have been endeavoring to prove, they have been endeavoring to prove. All that I have been endeavoring to establish this morning, the priests will endeavor to establish, in proportion as this cause moves on, and invades their

circle, viz., that the Bible stands in direct opposition to this movement. I believe I have stated the argument as honestly and concisely, as they have stated it themselves. I am satisfied that they are perfectly just, sound and conclusive, supposing their premises to be sound; namely, that the Bible is the word of God, and that *all* its teachings are infallible and true.

I know, some interpretations were given by our friend, Mrs. Mott, inconsistent with the views I have given; and some, also, by President Mahan. He challenged any one to show, that the pulpit dealt partially with man in distinction from woman. I have only to say, then, that the pulpit is against the Bible, for the Bible deals partially with man. Every woman is there required to offer a sin-offering at the birth of a child, but the man is not required to offer a sin-offering for being the father; and if the new-born is a female child, the offering must be somewhat more expensive, in atonement for bringing forth a female child. If that be not partiality, there is no such thing as partiality; and if the priesthood are not partial to man, at the expense of woman, then the priesthood and the Bible are at variance, and they are false to its teachings.

Besides, every pulpit should teach the doctrine of woman's subjection to man. It is not taught in one part of the Bible alone, not in the Old only, but in the New Testament; and the priesthood ought, therefore, to inculcate it, or give up their professions of belief in the divine authority of the Bible. Moreover, everybody must be aware, that the churches now, tolerate polygamy and concubinage. I was reading in a religious newspaper, a list of some crimes which God would not tolerate, and among them, idolatry was instanced; but there were other sins which God saw fit to tolerate, sins not inconsistent with a state of grace, and among those sins, was polygamy.

I have seen a report published by the American Board of Missions, in which this doctrine was laid down; at least so far as this, that they did not feel at liberty to expel a man at their missionary stations for polygamy, or refuse church fellowship to those who were living in concubinage. This is the doctrine of the Old Testament, and they tell us that the Old is also of divine inspiration, and the persons in the Old Testament, to whom we are referred in the New, as examples

of piety, are Abraham, Jacob, Solomon, David and others. Now if a man can have a number of wives, and concubines also, and a woman at the same time, not a number of husbands, then the Church and the Bible deal partially with men and women, and require a different standard of perfection ; and I ask the priesthood to give a single instance in the Bible, in which God is said ever to have tolerated a woman in having several husbands or concubines. The Church and Bible are then partial, and they who deny this, are not in harmony with truth.

I understood Mrs. Mott to say, that the Old Testament was not binding, but I think she must say, that the example of Sarah is, since Peter requires all to be like her, and call their husbands lord, and do as their husbands bid them ; and there is not, in either the Old or New Testament, a single word against the conduct of this woman.

If Miss Brown can show that I am in error, I suppose I shall be benefited by her remarks, as much as any other person will be ; and it may be, I shall receive instruction from her, for I am as free to hear a sermon from a lady, as from a gentleman, and a little more gladly.

Now I have stated, that the only question is, either as to the right interpretation of these passages, or the authority of the book in which they are found. I ought to observe, that the interpretation I have given them, is the one given by all the orthodox clergy of the day ; indeed I should say, the clergyman or the woman was not orthodox, but heretical, who should swerve from these interpretations ; just as I regard those Geologists who labor to interpret the Bible in harmony with modern science, as heretics, though perhaps unconscious of their own heresy.

But this is not only the interpretation of the orthodox clergy at this day, but it is the interpretation which has been given from the beginning. The Jews interpret them the same way now, as they ever have done ; and they laugh at those who propose to force another and a different interpretation upon them. The whole Christian world, with the exception of here and there a conscious or unconscious heretic, give this interpretation. The Fathers give the passages this interpretation ; the traditions of the Church, as transmitted to us by

the Church of Rome ; the Episcopalians, the Methodists, the Baptists, the Presbyterians, all give this interpretation. There is not an exception, and every minister in the Church thinks so, so far as I am acquainted. .

I know that other constructions may be forced upon the scripture. A minister once proved, to his own satisfaction, that a certain song of Solomon contained the whole body of divinity ; and I once heard an ignorant clergyman preach quite a good sermon from, "Hey diddle, diddle, the cat's in the fiddle," as a text. I know it is possible to force a meaning into words directly opposite to their legitimate meaning. Swedenborgian clergymen believe, that the common meaning of the Bible is false, contradictory of itself, and contradictory to science, but containing an internal meaning, which is true. They maintain, that the words of the Bible have three meanings. That the first meaning, which appears to be natural, is often false ; but that the second and third meanings are true. That the first meaning is adapted to the child ; the second meaning to the intellect, or spiritual man ; the third to the affections, or the social man.

The same difficulty, which exists in Christendom, exists in every country where sacred books are found. In Mohammedan countries, the woman is kept under subjection, and regarded as having no soul. They ground their doctrine on the Koran, and I have no doubt, that if Mohammedan women should get up a movement for their rights, they would find it as easy to force a different meaning upon the Koran, as some among us find it, to force a different construction upon Genesis, or St. Peter, or St. Paul. But all such forced interpretations, appear to me, to be unworthy. The idea, that God should give a book, some three or four thousand years ago, as a revelation to man now, which must be not only not understood, but *mis-understood* for three thousand years, and he not give them a hint of it ; the idea, that if God speaks to man, he speaks just as an ignorant man would, and what he speaks, it is impossible that men should understand, or even guess at—I say, the idea is monstrous. Treat the Bible as you would treat other books, and treat other books honestly, and then I know what interpretation of the Bible will be received as true, and what respect will be given to it.

With respect to Mohammedans, Hindoos, Persians, or Mormons, we should have but one course to take. If we should go to advocate Woman's Rights in Turkey, and the Turks should say, as they would, "You are an infidel, the Koran requires woman to be kept in subjection," you would instantly say, "you are deceived about the Koran, it is not of God." If you should go into Hindoostan for that purpose, you would be met by the Brahmins and priesthood, with a similar objection—"Your doctrine is contrary to our Bible; our Vedas and Shastres make woman subject to man." They believe woman to be but as the breath of man's nostrils. She sacrifices herself upon the funeral pile of the husband, or casts herself as a sacrifice into the Ganges. What course would you take? You would not take the trouble to prove that they misunderstood their books, it would be regarded as a hopeless and a worthless undertaking.

If you should go to the Mormons, to show them that polygamy is wrong, you would be met by similar objections. What course would you pursue? You would say, "the book of the Mormons is a delusion, a fiction." You have no difficulty in the matter with regard to believers in other books, as they have none in your case. If they should come here to preach the doctrine of Woman's Rights, and you should say, "it is contrary to our sacred books," they would have no difficulty about that. They would only wonder that you could rest your faith so blindly on any ancient document. They would smile, that you could think your book could be the word of God.

I am stating my reasons for preferring the common interpretation to the one which has been invented and forced upon the world. I do not often think the clergy are right, but this time I am *compelled* to agree with them. I am one of those who have come to regard the term Infidel, as the most honorable that can be given to a man; and I wish I could make the clergy feel uncomfortable by being on my side. If not, I shall always have the comfort of being able to say, that I am certain I am right, because all the clergy are on my side, and bear testimony to my skill in interpreting the scriptures.

I have only to conclude by saying, that any conviction, as to whether God made man or woman first, does not matter. If the Bible be true, all the animals, the asses, and the hogs then in the

world, were made before man ; and if it be the fact, that man has authority over the woman, because he was first made, then, on the same principle, ought every man and every priest to place himself below the hog and the ass. Nor does it matter to us, whether woman was made of the materials of man's body, or not ; for if the Bible story be true, man was made of the dust of the ground ; and if the fact, that woman was made out of man, makes her subject to him, then, the fact, that man was made out of dust, would require him to consider himself inferior to *it*.

I do not think it possible for man to believe a falser or more revolting doctrine, than that taught by Paul, as the clergy interpret it—that woman was not, as man, made for herself, as man was for himself ; and not as much made for progress, development and perfection, as man was. It is the most infernal doctrine that ever entered the word, or conduct, or practice, of a human being. I hope the clerical orders will try to find out that my interpretation is not true ; but if it is true, then, I say, the doctrine of Paul is most inhuman, and he the most inhuman teacher who ever used a pen.

Whatever I have said, is not only in good faith, from my convictions and from my heart, but it is intended to subserve the cause of freedom and the elevation of woman. Not only so, but I have the firmest conviction, that every word I have uttered, will as much contribute to forward woman's cause, as any word uttered on the opposite side. I appeal to all my works, to all my writings, and all the papers I have published, to show that I have always felt as interested for the elevation of woman, as man can feel. I have ever been, so far as the darkness surrounding me, or within me, would suffer me to be, the friend of universal man.

The following resolution was then offered by Mr. Keeler, Secretary of the Ohio State Temperance Alliance.

*Resolved*, That this convention, in expressing its disapproval of the course pursued by Gen. Carey, at the recent "World's Temperance Convention," does not presume to dictate a line of conduct to that gentleman, nor would it fail, in grateful remembrance of his arduous labors, and self-sacrificing devotion to the cause of Temperance, so nobly evinced on other fields and other occasions.



Mrs. Foster.—I have to say of that resolution, that it is not in its proper place. Why not thank every other individual in the community, for his labors? I cannot conceive what honorable motive has induced any gentleman to come to this house, to get this convention to endorse Gen. Carey's labors in the Temperance cause. It seems to me wholly extraneous. Gen. Carey's treatment of woman in a large public meeting, in the Metropolis of this nation, was properly a subject of approval or animadversion. That subject has been before the convention. It was open to discussion by the entire body. The gentleman had an opportunity to be heard on these resolutions when they were up, but he signified no wish to be heard upon them. It seems to me entirely improper, now to come forward and thrust the subject on the convention again.

Some further discussion ensued, when the floor was obtained by Mr. Keeler.—I did not expect any discussion upon the resolution, but I did expect what has happened—a "second" from Miss Brown; that alone pays me for all that has been said against the resolution.

Lucy Stone.—I want to ask that the resolution may be laid on the table. Not that any one of us is not glad of any good Gen. Carey may have done. Of course, we do not want intemperance in the land, but we cannot afford to make this precedent. If we endorse Gen. Carey as a temperance man, then the American Board of Foreign Missions, or any other body, may come up here and want us to endorse them as christians. When any of these things put themselves in our way, we are bound to put them out of the way, or to go over them. Gen. Carey knows, and the world knows, that the Woman's Rights movement is a friend of Temperance, but we have nothing to do with him, only as he has something to do with us.

Here Mr. Barker rose to speak to the question, but a very general disposition was manifested, mainly by persons throughout the gallery, not to hear him—some hissed; a gentleman in the audience lamented the elements of discord in the convention. Mr. Foster advocated Mr. Barker's right to the floor; others still opposed.

Mrs. Severance.—I think the friends here, who object to hearing Mr. Barker, or any person, on either side, or on any phase of the subject before us, know but little of the position of the women of this movement;

do not at all understand the beauty and the breadth of our platform. Agreeing perfectly upon the one great question of Woman's Rights and Needs, we accord each other perfect freedom in the enjoyment and expression of individual differences, on this and all topics ; we claim only that each and all shall have an equally courteous and impartial hearing. Many a time, since the opening of this convention, Mrs. Mott, Miss Brown and others, by prayer and argument, based upon the Scriptures as their authority, have implied or expressed fully their views, while those who arrive at the same truth by a different process, have listened quietly and kindly. Such example is worthy of all imitation. We recognize all the differences of views among ourselves, but suffer none of them to separate us. If, therefore, there are any elements of discord here, as the gentleman has hinted, they can only be found among those who object to hearing *both* sides with equal candor. I presume, however, the opposition arose mainly from a misapprehension of the position of the members of the convention itself, and from a mistaken zeal to rid it of those supposed to be trying its patience. I therefore deemed this explanation of our true position, necessary, and presume it will be sufficient. In short, we insist that no person shall be "gagged," as the politicians say—upon our platform.

The confusion now subsided, and Mr. Barker proceeded. I speak now, not so much because I have anything particular to say, as to maintain my right, and to maintain order in the meeting. But I intended saying, that if what Miss Brown said last night, be true, and if the article read by her was written by Gen. Carey, I can only say, that the man who was wicked enough to lie about a woman, is bad enough to do other bad things, and I think the resolution ought not to be adopted.

MRS. MOTT.—(*Addressing Mr. Keeler*) I would ask, whether thee knows that Gen. Carey was the writer of that editorial offered here last evening ?

MR. KEELER.—He is the editor of that paper.

MRS. MOTT.—Is thee impressed that he is *not* the author of that editorial.

MR. KEELER.—I should judge from his course at the convention of New York, that he *was* the author of that article.

Mrs. Mott.—I would only wish to say, that if he is the author of that article, as we have had reason to believe he is, it stands before us, and should be a reason for our disapproval far above the excited state of that New York Convention. We could make allowance for that, because we know how strong party and sectarian zeal became, and how apt people are to act for the time, in a manner which their cooler judgment condemns ; but, if after due consideration, he wrote that article, it seems to me, that so far from endorsing him in other respects, we ought to pass a resolution charging him with the most outrageous falsehoods, with falsehoods tending to dishonor and insult woman in the highest degree, as far as with the pen he could do it. I have no doubt of Gen. Carey's interest in the Temperance cause, and fear his late conduct may injure him in that cause, as, the conduct of John Chambers may injure him. If he did not stand up in the church—in his coward's castle, the pulpit—and thrust his missiles at woman, which are calculated to lessen woman's influence, in the Temperance cause, as well as against many evils, he would have much greater power to do good. He cannot harm us, but every wrong act, is an obstruction to good acts ; and we have all the more difficulties to surmount. I do not believe that good comes out of evil. I believe that evil, works evil, and evil only, and that continually ; and thus, evil things must and do stand in the way of the progress of truth. And such an article as that, believed to be from the pen of Gen. Carey,—from the high regard in which he is held, and worthy therefore of double honor in the Temperance cause,—is calculated to do any amount of harm, to the cause of Temperance, too ; for just as fast as he thrusts his weapons in the way of woman, he retards the cause of Temperance. Now, let us look at it dispassionately, and see if we can pass a resolution to endorse every other act of Gen. Carey's, except that one in New York. I like the spirit which prompted the seconding of that resolution, by Antoinette Brown, but I do think it an error of judgment.

Upon the question being put, the convention almost unanimously resolved to lay it upon the table, as not feeling called upon to characterize, or endorse, Gen. Carey's conduct, or that of any other man, only so far as closely related to its own principles and members.

MISS BROWN, having obtained the floor to reply to Mr. Barker's interpretation, and Mr. Nevin having volunteered to do the same, the convention adjourned to 2 o'clock, P. M.

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THIRD DAY—AFTERNOON SESSION.

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Convention came to order at the appointed hour.

MISS ANTOINETTE L. BROWN, having the floor, addressed the convention as follows :

MY FRIENDS, I am both glad and sorry, to stand here this afternoon; sorry, only because I am too weary to talk, and because I am obliged to leave the convention soon, and ride most of the night in order to reach home at a time when it is necessary to be there. It was well said, that this Bible question is one which must be met. It is one I have been obliged to meet everywhere,—as often too from the professed christian, as from the avowed and acknowledged infidel. For one, I believe that truth is mighty and will prevail,—that truth is omnipotent over error; that truth and error are the two great antagonisms of the universe, and that they must eternally and forever be in conflict, until truth shall triumph. Let us believe in God; and believe in Him as the Father and Protector of his own eternal truth. Do not let us believe that any mortal can destroy that which is right, that which is in itself from God, the author of our natures, and the author of our Universe.

It is not my province this afternoon, to decide whether or not, the Bible be an inspired volume; whether or not, it comes from God, as a revelation of his will to man. Personally, I believe it is such a book. I believe it to be in accordance with the laws of God, as revealed everywhere throughout the Universe. Friend Barker, personally, does not believe it to be the special word of God, does not believe it to be a supernaturally inspired volume. Take his opinion for what it is worth, and mine for what it is worth, each one for himself and herself. *The convention is committed to neither.*

Let me say briefly however, one word in regard to the Scriptures, and other so claimed sacred books. One thing is certain, there are

no counterfeits of that which is not a reality. If there were no true gold, there would be no counterfeit coin. If there were no genuine bank-bills, there would be no counterfeit bank-bills. So, if there were no Bible, there would be no counterfeit professing to be the revealed will of God. One other idea. If we believe the Bible to endorse the institutions of patriarchal times, must we therefore suppose those institutions to be obligatory, or even right, for the present age? Not if we believe Christ, for he told us that things such as polygamy, were permitted on account of the hardness of their hearts. It is not necessary to take all that question into consideration. We leave the matter where we found it, only saying that there seem to have been some reasons to justify such a man as Abraham, in being the husband of more than one wife, which would not justify men now, in the nineteenth century; for God's will comes to us progressively, and light increases as we are ready to receive it. So that what Abraham could do, and perhaps not be at all condemned for doing, or be comparatively guiltless in doing; we might not do at all, without rolling upon our souls a mountain of guilt.

Let me say also, in all frankness, that friend Barker in his statement this morning of what he believed to be a true interpretation of the Bible, without regard to the idea whether it was the revealed will of God or not, taking it as it stands, aside from its origin or Authorship,—his interpretation of what he supposed was the true meaning of that Book, is an interpretation almost entirely like that which has been given me again and again, by those who receive the Bible as their only rule of faith and practice. Again and again they have said to me, "The Bible does teach so and so," in regard to woman's subjection; and that is the only subject that need come up this afternoon, as there is not time for any other. Those whom I love, and believe to be honest men, have told me that substantially they held just Mr. Barker's idea of what the Bible teaches in regard to the position of woman. Well, if I believed the Bible taught thus, much as I love and reverence that Book, I could not believe in such a Bible. I should believe the light and the testimony in my own soul, rather. God knows he has given me reason and intellect, and soul, and heart; and I believe his law written upon these, is eternally one with the law written everywhere.

And again, there have been no more different and diverse interpretations of the meaning of the Bible, than we find different and diverse interpretations of the law of God, as written in nature, as written in the mind of man, as written by the hand of God in the fleshly tablets of the heart. You will find people differing just as widely when they talk of natural Theology, outside of the Bible. One great aim of my life has been, to show that the God of the Bible, is the God everywhere ; and that the revelations of his will do not conflict. We may believe that green and blue certainly are something very different from the pure, clear light, which we see falling from the heavens. So all the different colors of the rainbow, look very unlike the light above us ; but we know very well, that these combined give us perfect light. We can divide that light and get seven original colors ; so we may take the Bible, and find in it the moral rainbow ; or the one flood of mellow radiance—the pure moral light of God. We may take the specific commands of that Bible, separate rays and not the combined whole, or we may take them as they all blend together in one eternal whole. And so far as I have studied the Scriptures, they do all blend together in harmony in the one great Golden Rule. “God is no respecter of persons.” “There is neither male nor female, for both are one in Christ Jesus ;” and I have no hesitation in planting my feet upon the Bible, and feeling that I can harmonize it all with these sublime truths.

While our Biblical expositors make the Bible contradict itself, they need not wonder that infidels arise ; for they are the handiwork of such interpretation as theirs ; of such as would have us believe, that at one time God is *not* a respecter of persons, and at another, that he *is* a respecter of persons ; that he does not place man above woman in the Gospel dispensation, and then that he does place man above woman, and make her subject to him. The two things cannot harmonize. Either there is no male and female in Christ Jesus, and sex is no barrier to any or all the rights which belong to the christian in the Church, or anywhere in the world ; or God *is* a respecter of persons, and there is an inferior and a superior sex in Christ Jesus. Let us look facts in the face. Either the Bible contradicts itself, or it does not contradict itself. If it is a tissue of contradictions, then it is not the Bible which has come from my God, or your God.

Let me now allude to many passages brought up before us, and try to show you that they are in harmony with the great heart of Christianity itself; for I claim that this movement is pre-eminently a great christian movement. It is founded in the christian doctrine "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God supremely, and thy neighbor as thyself;" and the Golden Rule of the new gospel.

Go back with me then to the fall, when our first parents had sinned. God said to Eve, "Thy desire shall be to thy husband, and he shall rule over thee;" there was a twin-born announcement made with that, to Satan, "It shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel"—Christ should bruise the head of the serpent, and the serpent should injure Christ; take notice, this is the same form of speech, "*Thou shalt do it.*" Did God *command* the serpent to injure the Anointed of the Lord or any other of the seed of the woman? If so, I tell you Satan should be thanked for having injured mankind. He ought to have credit given him for having obeyed the command of God. But it is blasphemy to think that God commanded the devil to do an intrinsically wrong act. It might as well have been translated, "Thou *will* bruise his heel," "Thy desire *will* be to thy husband," &c. The Hebrew scholar will tell you, that the same form of words may be translated, shall or will. Well, our good brothers have been educated into the idea, that man ought to rule over woman, and so they prefer to translate it, that God said, "He *shall* rule over thee." So God has said, but he also said that Satan *should* bruise the heel of Christ, or the seed of the woman; but we know from the nature of things, that this cannot be a command. Then there is not a particle of evidence for believing the other to have been a command. God said, these things will be so; they will be the result of wrong doing. When they had sinned, he did not tell them to go on sinning. But he said, "I will tell you the result." It was an announcement. There was a curse, or evil, to fall upon woman. It must have been a curse too that would fall upon man, for the interests of men and women are forever identical. If men ought to rule, then they must be blest in ruling, and woman blest in the rule. But neither of them are blest in it. It is an evil, therefore it cannot be from God. He merely told them of it as a result of sin.

The very same form of the verb is used to Cain. "If thou doest well, shalt thou not be accepted? And if thou doest not well, sin lieth at the door," and, "unto thee shall be his desire, and thou *shalt* rule over him," or as it should be rendered, "unto thee *will* be his desire." And Cain did rule. He domineered and tyrannized over his brother until he took his life. If thou doest not well, this shall be (*will* be) the result. Just so it was to be between Adam and Eve. When thou doest not well and sin, then this announcement shall be verified. And it has been verified until now. The most heathenish countries in the world, are those where man tyrannizes most entirely over woman; and the most enlightened and advanced countries, are where woman is elevated nearest to the level of man.

But we are told that parallel passages will best interpret each other, and that St. Paul said to woman that she was to be subject to her husband in all things. Well, I am ready to grant a christian subjection, which St. Paul deems every woman to owe her husband. He says she is to be subject in all things; and this is, I think, in his sense, right, and fit, and proper. But what kind of subjection is it? Let me give you some parallel passages. "Yea, *all of you* be subject one to another," and, "*submitting* yourselves one to another." Again, "I beseech you *brethren*, that *you submit yourselves* to *every one that helpeth us and laboreth*;" and the same St. Paul, calls Phebe "a servant of the Church," and mentions a whole category of pious women who were co-workers with him; and adds, "I earnestly beseech you to *submit unto all those* who help with us, and labor." Now putting the two together, he says just as plainly, "I beseech you, submit yourselves to those women who work with us in the gospel," as he says, "submit yourselves to your husbands." You cannot get rid of the interpretation. Look at it, and you will find the word translated, "to submit," means simply, "listen to with reverence or respect." It has reference to the spirit, and not to an act. The Bible is not a book that specifies action, so much as principles. This word then enjoins woman to pay the respect to her husband which she owes to him, and which each man owes to all his fellows. No woman need refuse to submit to her husband, or regret having to obey her husband in this christian, Bible sense. Every woman ought to be bound to



submit in this sense, and every man is as much bound to obey and submit to his wife, and others round about him. It is a spirit he owes to the world. This christian subjection is something different from that rule announced by Jehovah, at the time of the fall. It is as wide apart from it, as the east is from the west.

But why did Paul so often council the wife to "submit to, the husband," and never say, in form, to the husband, "submit to your wife?" The reason is obvious. From the time of the fall, man had been the ruler and woman the subject; but Christ came and preached a better gospel. He told them, there is in this gospel neither male nor female. They began to hold this theory. And how would these women naturally feel toward those who ruled over them after this announcement? As a slave might, when held in unjust bondage. But St. Paul wished to cultivate in their hearts the christian virtues, and therefore he pointed out the duty of the servant even toward an imperfect master. He was to keep *his* "heart with all diligence, remembering that out of it were the issues of life."

But again, did the Apostle after enjoining this meek and Christ-like spirit, endorse the idea of man as the master, ruling over woman? Certainly not. Has he not said to the man invariably, that he was to love his wife with a love that casteth out rule. Let a man love his wife as himself, and he will as soon obey her, as rule over her. The spirit of love, is the opposite of the spirit of rule, and when the Apostle commands the man to love his wife, and tells him too how to love her, he commands him not to rule arbitrarily over her. We shall be told that "the husband is the head of the wife, as Christ is the head of the Church." But in what sense is Christ the head of the Church? He is in some sense, the head of the Universe, of even wicked men and devils, but is there no higher sense? Yes, turn again to that blessed fifth of Ephesians, and find in what specific sense Christ is represented as the head of the Church. It is a union, a perfect oneness of life with the Church. "Christ so loved the Church that he gave himself for it," and thus he made it, "bone of his bone, and flesh of his flesh." It was one with himself. Its interests, were made his interests. The figure is the figure of one being, a head and body; a figure of union, and not of rule. "So ought men to love

their wives, *even as Christ loved the Church.*" Let them do that, and be willing to give themselves for their wives ; let the twain become one flesh, and then be sure no man will ever hate his own body, but "he will love it and cherish it, as Christ does the Church." That kind of head-ship, we love. It is union in one being, the body with the head ; the giver with him who receives the gift ; and taking the world as it then was, and now is, man may give to woman all that belongs to himself, while she, in return, gives herself to him, and the twain become, morally and spiritually, one, if they are truly united in heart and life. And this is represented by the figure, of Christ and his people, who are forever one.

But we are told, there are scriptural reasons given why man should rule over woman, "For Adam was first formed, then Eve ; and Adam was not deceived, but the woman being deceived, was in the transgression." There are those who argue from this passage, that woman has less sense, and "is more gullable than man," to use the phrase of a distinguished Biblical Expositor. "Woman is so gullable, and is so easily deceived, that she may not be intrusted with the office of a teacher of men"—of those who have sense enough to decide of her doctrines, whether they are true or false, truth or error." But, "she may teach the child, may imprint upon its plastic mind, indelible impressions." Gullable, and easily duped and deceived as she is, she may yet form and fashion the character of the child, enstamp upon it its earliest and most lasting impressions.

"Which time retracing, deepens into strength,  
That nothing can efface, but death or heaven."

And not even these, they are there eternally. I would not so charge God with folly, as to make him give to the child a teacher, who is so liable to be deceived and duped, that she is not fit to instruct the man, lest she should lead him into error. "Being deceived," with other commentators, is synonymous with being a simpleton. Dr. Cox is a distinguished exponent of this view. "Woman," he says, "lent her easy confidence to the arguments of the devil, sophisticating the word of God in the way of his vocation ; and she frequently does this, yet with such feminine facility, that she must not have the ministry committed to her." "This reason," he continues, "though densely

stated, plainly indicates the necessity of intellectual strength and the vigor of a well disciplined and masculine mind, in the high and holy trust of the ministry. Let simpletons go to Congress, or write an Encyclopedia, or glitter our throne ; but keep them forever from the christian ministry." And yet this same Rev. Divine can quote Bible in defence of oppression ! In some respects, one may admire Dr. Cox, but before God, I had rather be *such an Infidel* as Wm. Lloyd Garrison, than *such a Christian* as Dr. Samuel Hanson Cox. But thank God, I am not called upon to judge either. It can be no wonder that there are *such* infidels, when there are *such* christians.

But what does the Apostle mean, by the passage under review ? It is connected not only with the subject of subjection, but with teaching ; following the words, "I suffer not a woman to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man." (1 Tim. 2: 12.) Teaching over man, or tutoring and dictating, usurping authority over him : these are faults, which those who have been degraded and oppressed are liable to fall into, when made equal with their late superiors. The Apostle couples his rebuke with such a warning as we should be likely to give a daughter, whose mother had gone astray. Remember your first mother, who, though last created, sinned first. What ground have you for assuming to domineer ?

Again, "*The man was not made for the woman, but the woman for the man.*" (1 Cor. 11.) Yes, but the same writer says nevertheless, "Neither is the man without the woman, neither the woman without the man, in the Lord. For as the woman is of the man, even so is the man also by the woman ; but all things of God." After rebuking each separately, he binds them both together again, as one. The drift and design of the whole chapter, is, to show that whatever dishonorable thing is done by either, is done not to themselves alone, but to Christ, to God. An exegis of the whole connection, would afford matter enough for a lecture by itself ; but the general tenor of it, is easily seen. As a Church of God, they had no right to violate any of the customs of their times, in such a way, as to bring dishonor upon Him.

We are told too, that Sarah obeyed Abraham. Well, I thank God that she did listen to him with reverence and respect—as to one

who ought to counsel and advise her. Let her call him lord. It was only a title, and *Mr.* has taken its place in these democratic days. It was only proper and fit, but as for the kind of obedience she exercised towards him, let me illustrate :—Once on a time Sarah and Abraham differed on a vital matter, the casting out of Ishmael from his father's house. Abraham didn't wish to do it, but Sarah insisted, and the Lord said unto Abraham, "Hearken unto Sarah," and Abraham obeyed Sarah. Follow out their history, and if you read it well, you will find that Abraham obeyed Sarah quite as often as Sarah obeyed Abraham. You will find them mutually yielding, and mutually obedient to one another. Of course I will not enter into any physiological question as regards marriage here, you can settle that matter for yourselves. It is sufficient to prove that there is in the Bible no subjection enjoined upon woman, that is not enjoined upon man.

Let us turn then, to woman as a public teacher. There are only two passages in the Bible supposed to militate against her filling this office. To the one in 1 Timothy, 2, we have already referred briefly. The directions there given, apply no more to public than to private life. We infer this from the context. "I will, therefore, (verse 8,) that men pray everywhere. In like manner also that women adorn themselves with modest apparel," &c., not that they do this in church merely, but everywhere. So the silence in which she is to learn, is as fitting for the home circle, as for the public assembly. The adjective of the word is rendered "peaceable" in the 2d verse of the chapter. She is to learn in a quiet, meek spirit—the opposite of domineering and *teaching over man*. This wrong kind of teaching is here forbidden ; but no other. Again, 1 Corinthians, 14, 34, 35 : "*Let your women keep silence in the Churches,*" &c. Singing is not keeping silence, if using the voice is meant. "*It is not permitted unto them to speak,*" that is to use the voice. Singing is speaking or using the human voice. Yet women sing in all Christian assemblies. This passage has been variously interpreted, to mean, a woman shall not teach authoritatively, or by taking a text ; and, she shall not teach at all by prayer, or exhortation. This last should include singing, as this is *sometimes* done to edification, and would be a third prohibition, against joining the choir.

The word here translated "speak," does not mean "teach." No body ever attempted to show that it did. No one has ever tried to show where any such meaning was found in the context, or how it was derived from it. Directly the opposite meaning is found there, viz : "That no woman shall speak in the Church, except it be for the purpose of teaching or edifying." The rule laid down in this Chapter for the government of the religious assembly is : "Let all things be done unto edifying." Both men and women are forbidden to pray, to prophecy, to speak with tongues, or do anything else which is not to "edification, exhortation and comfort." If the whole connection inculcates anything, it is that no one shall take part in public religious services except for the edification of all, rather than for his own personal benefit. The good of the one, must be yielded to the good of the many. Ignorant women—much more ignorant in that day than in this, or than the men of that day, must not disturb the assembly, as they seem to have done by asking questions merely for personal information. Benevolence dictated that they should wait until they could ask their husbands or other friends in private. It *was* a shame to speak to the disadvantage of the assembly, merely to gratify themselves in obtaining information which could be learned at home. They were thus making God the author of confusion and not of peace, as in all the churches of the saints.

This interpretation harmonizes with the many examples of Bible prophetesses ; with the spirit of the whole gospel. There were inequalities between men and women in the Jewish dispensation, but even there I find always the spirit of true democracy. There is no Scripture authority for preventing the intelligent christian woman from teaching in public ; or for making her subject, because of sex. Another year, if permitted, I hope to write out these views carefully, and be able to bring them, printed, to our Convention. The subject can be thoroughly canvassed only in that way.

The difficulty in presenting this subject briefly in a Convention is, that there are so many passages, so many points to be considered, that it is apt to confuse the mind of both speaker and hearers. Care has been taken to make as few points as possible, and to present such as are deemed the most fundamentally important. It is with a sense

of inefficiency I have done this. Had I supposed there would be any person here, Dr. Nevins who proposes to speak here, or any one else, who would reply to such views as Mr. Barker's in such a way as to relieve my conscience from its sense of obligation in regard to the Word of God, I should not have needed to make the great effort I did to come to this Convention.

But the shafts coming from a friend, wound always deeper than those from an enemy. In one sense, I hope I have no enemies; but when I read in the New York Independent, the broad assertion that "the intrusion of a woman into the office of the Christian ministry, is an effort of infidelity;" it wounds deeper than those can wound who do not believe in a ministry, and who do not believe in the Bible. And when a paper like the New York Evangelist, without any foundation for it, caricatures and misrepresents a religious meeting conducted with the most perfect order in the city of New York, on a Sabbath, simply because it was addressed by a woman; and afterwards when called upon by an "infidel" paper to make a correction, gives but an ungracious apology and retraction—I can but feel that this is helping to make infidels, by the wholesale!

For one, I am glad Mr. Barker brought his views before this Convention. There are avowed infidels, and there are avowed Christians connected with the Woman's Rights movement. The public has repeatedly characterized the movement itself as infidel; the Christian public is making this cry continually; but whoever heard of infidels characterizing it as a Christian movement. And yet it is claimed repeatedly from our platform, that the fundamental basis of our cause is the basis of Christianity, that all the essentials of the two are forever in harmony. From year to year this has been proclaimed from our platforms; and yet no infidel paper has been known to cry out invidiously, that this is a Christian movement.

On the other hand, because friend Barker made very briefly some such remarks last spring at Ravenna, as he has made here to-day, our cause has been proclaimed as an infidel cause all through Ohio. Why was it that the few unacceptable remarks made by our friend, should be considered as stamping the character of the whole Convention? Are they the essential sentiments of the movement? Are

they a part of our demands ? Do they inhere in the fundamental elements of our cause ? This has never been claimed. Men must have weak arguments to rely upon, when they pursue a course like this ; when instead of attacking one real principle of our platform, they seize upon irrelevant, personal opinions—opinions which may be either held or abandoned, without affecting the real merits of the question—and herald these to the world triumphantly.

If they can hold up one infidel sentiment essential to our cause, let them do so ! But if they can only point to a man or men among us, who believe the broad principles which *do* belong really to this movement, with *some which do not* ; let them not stigmatise this as therefore an infidel cause. Let not all the prominent advocates be classed together, in their religious opinions. A man is welcomed to our platform who believes in no God, or in any kind of a God. He may speak his opinions for or against our cause ; and incidentally his views on all other subjects. They are *his* views—not the Convention's. He cannot kill the truth. It was said to me last evening : "It is a pity you did not close your Convention to-night. To-morrow you will overturn all the good that has been done." We have no fears of such a result.

"Truth crushed to earth will rise again,  
The eternal years of God are hers ;  
But error wounded, writhes in pain,  
And dies amid her worshippers."

A free platform is the honest battle ground for the two. I am proud to stand upon it ; ready to give a reason for all the opinions I entertain, and able to do so ; at least to my own satisfaction, to the convincing of my own mind. The day is past with me for holding beliefs upon trust. The church has so far cast me off, that to a great extent, I have *been obliged to go to just such infidels as those around me*, for aid in assisting me to speak my *Christian* views to the public. I refer to myself only as an illustration, and should be ashamed, when it is necessary, to be unable to speak of myself as freely as of another. Never were my religious opinions more firmly held than now. There is no one doctrine of Christianity, surrounded as I have been by the presence, influence, and opinions of these men whom you call

Infidels, that I have not been compelled to examine, and re-examine, again and again.

MR. GARRISON, rose to a point of order, in regard to the invidiousness of Miss Brown's remarks in alluding to himself and others, as "infidels."

MISS BROWN.—I did not intend to use the term infidel in any invidious sense.

MR. GARRISON.—I have not risen to go into an argument or to make a speech, but simply to urge that it is not in order for any person to make remarks upon the *character* of any one who comes to this meeting; and to talk about having to mingle with such men as are here assembled, seemed to me not quite decorous, and not germane to the subject which we are discussing. We are not here to settle principles of Christianity or Infidelity, but simply to discuss and advance the question of human rights; and on this ground I protest against any fling at Christian or Infidel. Mr. Barker accepts the teaching of the Priesthood universally on the subject of human rights, that is, yielding to them the Bible as a basis. He is compelled to accept them as true, and therefore, among other reasons, he rejects the Book as being not authoritative. Our friend Miss Brown says, she would have no Bible which should discard woman; the same thing which Mr. Barker says, showing that they are one and indivisible, upon this point, at least.

(During Mr. G.'s remarks, Miss B. was summoned to the cars. At her request, we append the following.

SOUTH BUTLER, N. Y., Oct. 28th, 1853.

*To the Publishing Committee of the National Woman's Rights Convention:*

DEAR FRIENDS :—At our last gathering in Cleveland, when near the close of my remarks, Mr. Garrison arose to a point of order. At the same moment I was summoned to leave the Hall to take the cars homeward. There was no time for delay, and I left with but the briefest word of explanation.

Mr. Garrison's criticism, I now see, was apparently a just one; but five minutes of further remarks, would have proved it uncalled for. Explanation on my part, seems to be a matter of simple jus-



tice to all. Will you, therefore, please insert the following appendix to my remarks, in the printed Annual Report? A. L. B.

The word infidel, as applied to Mr. Barker, was used simply in the sense of a disbeliever in the Bible as the Word of God—as the word of infallible truth, *when rightly* understood. This was no injustice to Mr. B., and was synonymous with his own explicit statement to the Convention. When applied to Mr. Garrison and others, it was rather in a more general and popular sense, as opposed to the current Christianity. Could it be an invidious usage, when it was said that I would endorse *such* infidelity, rather than *such* Christianity? Honestly, I endorse neither, and frankly I said so, as bound to do under the circumstances.

There is an infidelity to the *letter* of true Christianity, and an infidelity to its *spirit*. In the latter class I placed no one. My motto is “judge not.” If any *are* there, they are born there spiritually, and can neither be voted in nor out, any more than they can be voted in or out of true Christianity. Whenever the spirit of Christ manifests itself to me, I meet it and fellowship it freely, in any body and every body; I have often found it glowing warmly in the heart, and gushing out spontaneously in the life, of many whom the world does not recognize as Christians—of many whom it even condemns as infidel. Those who are associated with me in public or private, can read my heart towards them in this respect; for I am no hyocrite, and wear no disguises. So far from intending any remarks upon the character of any body, or any fling at either Christian or Infidel, I *meant* to prove myself above this, by a candid criticism of theories and positions; and no condemnation of any one. The talk about having to mingle with such men as those on the platform in order to obtain a hearing for acknowledged Christian doctrines, was really *designed* as a just censure of the Christian world, and a cordial commendation of the generous toleration and magnanimity of my co-workers. A few more sentences would have made this apparent to the audience. Not till afterwards did I dream that it was not already clear to all on the platform; and, supposing there was time enough, was dwelling upon the point, in order to heighten the contrast between the course pursued by the two classes.

This did not, and does not, seem to me foreign to the subjects of the Convention. It was a reply to the *greatest*, I had almost said, the *only plausible* objection in the minds of the multitude against our whole cause, viz : "It is an Infidel movement." Hundreds have told me, personally, they were willing to join us, if it were not for this one feature of the reform. If they are not earnest and honest enough to be ready to come upon a *free* platform, they are welcome to stay away ; but it was surely *in order* to show the nature and effects of their exclusiveness and proscription, contrasted with the breadth of our movement, and the liberality of its advocates. To affirm that I love, honor, and admire, deeply and sincerely, many of those who have been associated with me in our *one* cause, would seem more than superfluous—that I am not incapable of common gratitude where it is so clearly due, I would have equally apparent. To be warped by either from integrity to my own convictions, would prove me recreant to the sublime right of individuality, conceded by us all.

We differ in many things : we harmonize in more : above all, in the grand recognition of human equality.

ANTOINETTE L. BROWN.

Mrs. E. L. ROSE.—I want to make a suggestion to the meeting. This is the afternoon of the last day of our Convention. We have now heard here the Bible arguments on both sides, and I may say to them that I agree with both, that is, I agree with neither. A gentleman, Dr. Nevins, I believe, said this morning that he also would reply to Mr. Barker, this afternoon. We have already had Mr. Barker answered. If any one else speaks farther on Miss Brown's side, somebody will have to reply upon the other. "There is a time and a season for everything," and this is no time to discuss the Bible. I appeal to the universal experience of men, to sustain me, in asking whether the introduction of Theological quibbles, has not been a fire-brand wherever they have been thrown ? We have a political question under discussion ; let us take that question and argue it with reference to right and wrong, and let us argue it in the same way that your fathers and mothers did, when they wanted to throw off the British yoke.

Dr. NEVIN.—It will be unjust, not to permit me to speak.

Mrs. MOTT, moved that he be allowed, since he had already got the floor, without attempting to limit him at all ; but that immediately after, the convention should take up the resolutions.

Mrs. ROSE objected because, if a third person should speak, then a fourth must speak, or plead injustice, if not permitted to do so.

Considerable confusion ensued, Dr. NEVIN, however, persisting in speaking, whereupon the President invited him to the platform. He took the stand, assuring the President and officers, as he passed them, that he wished only to reply to some misinterpretations of Mr. Barker's, and would take but little of the time which they so much needed for business.

After commencing however, with Bible in hand, he launched out into an irrelevant eulogium upon "his Christ" &c. ; from that to personalities against Mr. Barker and his associates upon the platform, calling him a "renegade Priest," "an Infidel from foreign shores, who had come to teach Americans christianity !"

MR. GARRISON rose to a point of order, with regard to the speaker's personalities as to the nativity of anybody.

DR. NEVIN retorted—The gentleman has been making personalities against the whole priesthood.

MR. BARKER.—I expressly and explicitly made exceptions. I only wish that Mr. Nevin may not base his remarks upon a phantom.

DR. NEVIN continued wandering on for some time, when Stephen S. Foster rose, to a point of order, as follows : "The simple question before us, is, whether woman is entitled to all the rights to which the other sex is entitled. I want to say, that the friend is neither speaking to the general question, nor replying to Mr. Barker. Mr. Foster continued his remarks somewhat, when Mr. Nevin demanded that the Chair protect him in his right to the floor. The Chair decided that Mr. Foster was out of order, in continuing to speak so long upon his point of order.

MR. FOSTER said he would not appeal to the house from the decision of the Chair, because he wished to save time. He continued a moment longer, and sat down.

DR. NEVIN, proceeded, and in the course of his remarks drew various unauthorized inferences, as the belief of Mr. Barker, in the

doctrines of Christ. Mr. Barker repeatedly corrected him, but Dr. Nevin very ingeniously continued to re-affirm them in another shape. Finally, Mr. Garrison, in his seat, addressing the President, said : "It is utterly useless, to attempt to correct the individual. He is manifestly here in the spirit of a blackguard and rowdy." (A storm of hisses and cries of "down !" "down !")

DR. NEVIN.—I am sorry friend Garrison has thought fit to use those words. He has been in scenes and situations like these, and has himself stood up and spoken in opposition to the opinions of audiences, too often not to have by this time been taught patience.

MRS. CLARK.—Mr. Garrison is accustomed to call things by their right names.

DR. NEVIN.—Very well, then I should call him—turning upon Mr. G., worse names than those.

Only one word has fallen from *woman* in this convention, to which I can take exceptions, and that fell from the lips of a lady whom I have venerated from my childhood—it was, that the pulpit was the castle of cowards.

MRS. MOTT.—I said it was *John Chambers'* coward's castle ; and I do say, that *such* ministers *make* it a castle of cowards ; but I did not wish to make the remark general, or apply it to all pulpits.

DR. NEVIN continued some time longer.

MRS. FOSTER, asked, at the close of his remarks, if he believed it was right for woman to speak what she believed to be truth, from the pulpit ; to which he replied affirmatively, "there and everywhere."

MRS. ROSE.—I might claim my right to reply to the gentleman who has just taken his seat. I might be able to prove, from the arguments he brought forward, that he was incorrect in the statements he made, but I waive that right, the time has been so unjustly consumed, already. To one thing only, I will reply. He charged France with being licentious, and spoke of the degraded position of French women, as the results of the infidelity of that nation. I throw back the slander he uttered, in regard to French women. I am not a French woman, but if there is no other here to vindicate them, I will do it. The French women are as moral as any other people in any country ; and when they have not been as moral, it has been

because they have been priest-ridden. I love to vindicate the rights of those who are not present to defend themselves.

STEPHEN S. FOSTER.—Our "Reverend" friend spoke of "dragging" infidelity into this convention; as though infidelity had to be "dragged" here. I want to know if Christianity has been "dragged" here, when the speakers made it the basis of their arguments. Who ever dreamed of "dragging" Christianity here, when they came to advocate the rights of woman, in the name of Christ? Why, then, should any one stand up here and charge a speaker with "dragging" infidelity, when he advocates the rights of woman, under the name of an infidel? I supposed that Greek and Jew, Barbarian and Scythian, Christian and Infidel, had been invited to this platform. One thing I know, we have had barbarians here whether we invited them or not; and I like to have barbarians here; I know of no place where they are so likely to be civilized as here. I have never yet been in a meeting managed by men, where there was such conflict of feeling, where there was not also ten times as much confusion; and I think this meeting a powerful proof of the superiority of our principles over those who oppose us.

Tell me if Christianity has not ever held the reins in this country; and, what has it done for woman? I am talking now of the popular idea of Christianity. What has Christianity done for woman for two hundred years past? Why to-day, in this christian nation, there are a million and a half of women bought and sold like cattle; a million and a half of women who cannot say who are the fathers of their children! I ask, are we to depend on a Christianity like that, to restore woman her rights? I am speaking of your idea of Christianity—of Dr. Nevin's idea of Christianity, I shall come to the true Christianity by and by.

One or two things are certain. The Church and Government, deny to woman her rights. There is not a denomination in the country, which places woman on an equality with man. Not one. Can you deny it?

MRS. MOTT.—Except the Progressive Friends.

MR. FOSTER.—They are not a denomination, they have broken from all bands and taken the name of the Friends of Progress. I say there is not a religious body, having an organized body of ministers,

which so admits woman's equality in the gospel. Now, tell me, in God's name, what we are to hope from the Church, when she leaves a million and a half of women liable to be brought upon the auction block to-day? If the Bible is against woman's equality, what are you to do with it? One of two things:—either you must sit down and fold up your hands, or you must discard the divine authority of the Bible. Must you not? You must acknowledge the correctness of your position, or deny the authority of the Bible. If you admit the construction put upon the Bible by friend Barker, to be a false one, or Miss Brown's construction to be the true one, what then? Why then, the priesthood of the country are blind leaders of the blind. We have got forty thousand of them, Dr. Nevin included with the rest. He stands as an accredited Presbyterian, giving the hand of fellowship to the members of his fraternity, and withholding it from Garrison and others; he could not even pray a few years ago in an Anti-Slavery meeting. Now, either the Bible is against the Church and clergy, or else they have misinterpreted it for two hundred years, yes for six thousand years. You must then either discard the Bible, or, the priesthood; or, give up Woman's Rights.

A friend says, he does not regret the discussion. Why, it is the only thing we have done effectively, since we have been here. When we played with jack straws, we were hail-fellow with those who now oppose us. When you come to take up the great questions of the movement, when you propose to man to divide with woman the right to rule, then a great opposition is aroused. The ballot-box is not worth a straw, until woman is ready to use it. Suppose a law were passed to-morrow, declaring woman's rights equal with those of men, why the facts would remain the same. The moment that woman is ready to go to the ballot-box, there is not a constitution that will stand in the country. In this very city, in spite of the law, I am told that negroes go to the ballot-box and vote, without let or hindrance; and woman will go when she resolves upon it. What we want for woman is the right of speech; and in Dr. Nevin's reply to Mrs. Foster, does he mean that he would be willing to accord the right of speech to woman, and admit her into the pulpit? I don't believe he would admit Antoinette Brown to his pulpit. I was sorry Mrs. Foster did

not ask him if he would. I don't believe he dares to do it. I would give him a chance to affirm, or deny it. I hope some other friend will give him that opportunity, and that Antoinette Brown may be able to say that she was invited by the pastor of one of the largest churches in this beautiful city, to speak to his people in his pulpit ; but if he does it, he is not merely one among a thousand, but one among ten thousand.

I wish to have it understood that an infidel is as much at home here, as a christian ; and that his principles are no more "dragged" here than those of a christian. For myself, I claim to be a christian. No man ever heard me speak of Christ or of his doctrines, but with the profoundest reverence ; but with the declaration on my lips that they contain the true rule of duty, that there was no hope of the world's redemption here, or hereafter, but in the practical principles that Jesus taught and exhibited in his life. But still, I welcome upon this platform those who differ as far as possible from me. And the Atheist no more "drags" in his Atheism, provided he only shows that Atheism itself demands woman's equality, and is no more out of order, than I when I undertake to show that Christianity preaches one law, one faith, and one line of duty for all.

Mrs. MOTT.—We ought to thank Dr. Nevin for his kindly fears, lest we women should be brought out into the rough conflicts of life, and overwhelmed by infidelity. I thank him, but at the same time I must say, that if we have been able this afternoon to sit uninjured by the hard conflict in which he has been engaged, if we can maintain our patience at seeing him so laboriously build a man of straw, and then throw it down and destroy it, I think we may be suffered to go into the world and bear many others unharmed.

Again, I would ask in all seriousness, by what right does Orthodoxy give the invidious name of Infidel, affix the stigma of infidelity, to those who dissent from its cherished opinions ? What right have the advocates of moral reform, the Woman's Rights movement, the Abolitionists, the Temperance advocates, or others, to call in question any man's religious opinions ? It is the assumption of bigots. I do not want now to speak invidiously, and say sectarian bigots, but I mean the same kind of bigotry which Jesus rebuked so sharply, when he called certain men "blind leaders of the blind."

Now we hold Jesus up as an ensample, when we perceive the assumption of clergymen, that all who venture to dissent from a given interpretation, must necessarily be infidels ; and thus denounce them as infidel ; for it was only by inference, that one clergyman this afternoon, made Joseph Barker deny the Son of God. By inference in the same way, he might be made to deny everything that is good, and praiseworthy, and true.

I want that we should consider these things upon this platform. I am not troubled with difficulties about the Bible. My education has been such, that I look to that Source whence all the inspiration of the Bible comes. I love the truths of the Bible. I love the Bible because it contains so many truths ; but I never was educated to love the errors of the Bible ; therefore it does not startle me to hear Joseph Barker point to some of those errors. And I can listen to the ingenious interpretation of the Bible, given by Antoinette Brown, and am glad to hear those who are so skilled in the outward, when I perceive that they are beginning to turn the Bible to so good an account. It gives evidence that the cause is making very good progress. Why, my friend Nevin has had to hear the Temperance cause denounced as infidel, and proved so by Solomon ; and he has, no doubt, seen the minister in the pulpit, turning over the pages of the Bible to find examples for the wrong. But the Bible will never sustain him in making this use of its pages, instead of using it rationally, and selecting such portions of it as would tend to corroborate the right ; and these are plentiful ; for notwithstanding the teaching of Theology, and men's arts in the religious world, men have ever responded to righteousness and truth, when it has been advocated by the servants of God, so that we need not fear to bring truth to an intelligent examination of the Bible. It is a far less dangerous assertion to say, that God is unchangeable, than that man is infallible.



## THIRD DAY—EVENING SESSION.

MRS. GAGE, because of indisposition, resigned the chair in favor of Mrs. Severance.

MISS E. WRIGHT.—In connection with the propositions of Mrs. P. W. Davis' letter, I wish to say, that Mrs. Martha Pillsbury of this city, has been in the practice of calculating Almanacs, although her work has passed under other persons names. She would be glad to calculate the one proposed, if it is to be done.

The entire series of resolutions was now presented for final action.

MRS. SEVERANCE.—(Mrs. Mott in the chair) I must beg leave to enter my protest against one phrase of the resolutions, which had, in some way, strangely escaped my notice until now. We wish our platform broad as the world,—as indeed it is,—so that men and women, of every shade of faith, may stand upon it, as indeed they now do. And while we accord liberty, during all our deliberations, for a free individual expression from all such, we should not suffer ourselves in our official acts, to brand, invidiously, any one sect. I move, therefore, that some less invidious phrase be substituted for that which now reads, "The cant of Papal Rome." I would add, also, that a woman; who advocated our cause ably and effectually upon this platform yesterday, is still a conscientious adherent of the Romish Church, a church indeed, which, whatever its other errors, has honored woman, and recognized her humanity as none other has done.

The resolution was therefore amended to read, "The cant of Theological Bigotry;" and the series being submitted to the convention, with this amendment, was adopted unanimously.

A proposition was made to consider as next in order of business, the time and place of holding the next National Convention. James Mott, proposed Philadelphia, Mrs. Rose, proposed to hold the next convention at the very Seat of Government. Women have to do with government questions, and she thought it most proper to have the next convention in the city of Washington.

MRS. MOTT.—I do not think it of so much importance to go where we could produce the greatest political effect, as to produce the

greatest moral effect. You may rest assured, the political men of the country, the partizans of politics, will be ready enough to take up our movement, when, by making these moral appeals we have been instrumental in calling forth such a sentiment, that there shall be a demand for our rights before the people. Then, without our appealing "to the powers that be," directly, the powers that be will come to us, and be ready to yield what has been so long denied us.

MISS STONE. — I prefer Philadelphia. We have talked about Washington, and we shall go there, sometime ; but now, when in the District of Columbia they *sell women*—I think we had better wait till they are more civilized, before we go there. Let the next convention be at Philadelphia, and as that is so near on to Washington, perhaps the moral effect of it, may reach there, so that the next year we may go there. We have had conventions in New York, Massachusetts and Ohio, and it seems to me, the next state should be Pennsylvania.

The vote was taken upon the motion to adjourn to Philadelphia, and decided in the affirmative.

MRS. EMMA R. COE.—I have very little to say this evening beyond reading a letter, received by me to-day. (Here follows the letter.)

I beg leave to inform the gentleman, if he is present, that I *believe* I understand these laws, and this point particularly, very nearly as well as himself; and that I am as well acquainted with the laws passed *since* 1840, as with those enacted previous to that time. I would also inform him, that the committee, some of whom are much better read in law than myself, were perfectly aware of the existence of the statutes he mentions, but did not see fit to incorporate them into the petition, not only on account of their great length, but because they do not at all invalidate the position which the petition affects to establish, viz., the inequality of the sexes before the law. Their insertion, therefore, would have been utterly superfluous. This letter refers, evidently, to that portion of the petition which treats of the equalization of property, which I will now read. (Then follows the reading of one paragraph of the petition.) Again I refer you to the letter, the first paragraph of which, is as follows :

"MRS. EMMA R. COE, will you look at Vol. 44, General Law of

Ohio, page 75, where you will find that the property of the wife, can not be taken for the debts of her husband, &c. ; and all articles of household furniture, and goods which a wife shall have brought with her in marriage, or which shall have come to her by bequest, gift, &c., after marriage, or purchased with her separate money or other property, shall be exempt from liability for the debts of her husband, during her life, and during the life of any heir of her body."

Very true : we readily admit the law of which the gentleman has given an abstract ; and so long as the wife holds the property in her hands, just as she received it, it cannot be taken for the husband's debts, *but the moment she permits her husband to convert that property into another shape, it becomes his, and MAY be taken for his debts.* The gentleman I presume will admit this at once.

The next paragraph of the letter, reads thus :

"Also in Vol. 51, General Laws of Ohio, page 499, the act regulating descent, &c., provides, that real estate, which shall have come to the wife by descent, devise, or gift, from her ancestor, shall descend—first, to her children, or their legal representatives. 2d, if there be no children, or their legal representatives living, the estate shall pass to the brothers and sisters of the intestate, who may be of the *blood of the ancestor from whom the estate came*, or their legal representatives, &c."

True again :—So long as the wife holds real estate in her own name, in title, and in title only, it is hers ; (for her husband even then controls its profits) and if she leave it so, it will descend to her heirs so long as she has an heir, and so long as she can trace the descent. But if she suffers her husband to sell that property and receive the money, it *instantly becomes his* : and instead of descending to *her heirs*, it descends to *his heirs*. *This* the gentleman will not deny. Now, we readily admit, that while the wife abides by the Statutes, of which our article has given us an abstract, her husband cannot take the property from her, he can only take the use of it. But the moment she departs from the Statute, she comes under the provisions of the common law ; which, when they do not conflict, is equally binding in Ohio, as the Statute Law. And in this case, the common and Statute Laws do not conflict. Departing from the

Statute, that is, suffering her property to be exchanged, the provision is thus : (Here follows the common Law, taken from the petition.)

I have nothing further to add on this point, but will quote the last paragraphs in the letter.

"If you would know what our laws are, you must refer to the laws passed in Ohio since 1840."

This has already been answered.

"You said last night, that the property of the wife, passed to the husband, even to his sixteenth cousin ! Will you correct your error ?

And oblige

A BUCKEYE."

I should be extremely happy to oblige the gentleman, but having committed no error, there is nothing to correct ; and I do not, therefore, see that I can in conscience comply with his request. I am, however, exceedingly thankful for *any* expression of interest from that quarter. There are other laws which might be mentioned, which really give woman an apparent advantage over men ; yet, having no relevancy to the subject in the petition, we did not see fit to introduce them. One of these is, that no woman shall be subject to arrest and imprisonment for debt : while no man, that is, no ordinary man, none unless he has a halo of military glory around his brow—is held sacred from civil process of this kind. But this exemption is of very little benefit to woman, since, if the laws were as severe to her as to man, she would seldom risk the penalty. For this there are two very good reasons. One is, that, conscious of her inability to discharge obligations of this kind, she has little disposition to run deeply into debt : and the other is, that she has not the credit to do it, if she wished ! If, however, she does involve herself in this way, the law exempts her from imprisonment. This, perhaps, is offered as a sort of palliation for the disabilities which she suffers in other respects. The only object of the petition is, I believe, that the husband and wife be placed upon a legal and political equality. If the law gives woman an advantage over man, we deprecate it as much as he can. Partiality to either, to the injury of the other, is wrong in principle, and we must therefore oppose it. We do not wish to be placed in the position which the husband now occupies. We do not wish that

control over his interests, which he may now exercise over the interests of the wife. We would no sooner intrust this power to woman, than to man. We would never place her in authority over her husband. For pity's sake, deliver me forever from the sight of a henpecked husband, a man who cowers and shrinks in the presence of his wife, as a mouse does in the presence of a cat. A lady near me, asks if there are any such. Yes, there are such, and my heart has ached sometimes, to see an authoritative woman exercising her skill over a little bit of a puny, insignificant man. I am not sure, that women, give them the power, might not at present prove the greatest tyrants of the two. Men's minds are more expanded, and more liberal, not only from education, but from a more extended field of observation. And the heart, as a general thing, grows big with the expansion of the intellect. So that if we must be under the rule of a tyrant——well, we won't be under the rule of any tyrant, so there's no use talking about that !

And, to change the subject, what is the reason that the petitions of women, are treated with less respect than those of men ? Simply because they've no vote to give. They cannot call their Legislators to an account ; and the race has not yet arrived at that pitch of perfection, when the whip of fear will not operate more powerfully, than the love of right.

We have heard discussed, since the session of this convention, the character of some of the opposition to this movement. But there is another kind which ought to be called into notice, and which really originates in cowardice. I wish to speak as little of personal experience as possible ; but, during the summer, happening to be where a Temperance Alliance was forming, I noticed that ladies were, without the slightest opposition, placed upon the Finance committee. Finally it was proposed to place the name of one of the first ladies in the town, on the list of Vice-Presidents. This was objected to, as taking her out of her sphere. Can any one tell me the difference, in principle, between a woman occupying the position of Vice-President, and that of Finance committee woman ? It strikes me as drawing very close lines, a little like hair-splitting. However, it was objected to, not only for the reason above mentioned, but also because it might

diminish the influence of the Alliance. A lady then proposed that the names of the women be withdrawn from the Alliance, and that they act by themselves, rather than be the occasion of bringing loss of influence and character to the Association. Whereupon, a clergyman, and a very good man too, but one who was nursing and cherishing his prejudices, arose, and in a most pitiful tone declared, that, before he came to the meeting he heard that he would be abused if he came. The lady wondered how this could possibly be; but nevertheless, withdrew the motion for the withdrawal of the women from the Association, although she could not very well see how the addition of one woman's name to the Alliance, or the withdrawal of a dozen, could possibly be abusing the clergyman. And thus the women continued to act on the Finance committee. Noble women, whom the cowardice of men dared not elevate to any higher office, readily performed the duties of drudges and beggars, for those who had so gracefully complimented them.

In one of the cities of New York, soon after the Syracuse Convention, an editor of a political paper, I do not know whether "Soft" or "Hard," (new parties sometimes take new names you know, and not always inappropriate ones,) in speaking of a woman who had been elected in that convention to the office of Treasurer, declared that he felt almost afraid to write the name of woman, Treasurer; so great was his reverence for the sex, and so much was it taking her out of her proper sphere! Poor man! Poor man!! How I pitied him, and wondered that some benevolent Association did not get up a Cinderella carriage, with horses of mice, and Tom Thumb outriders and postillions, to draw him about, lest he be afraid of the dark!! How dreadfully his sensibilities must have been shocked!

Well, no wonder, after all; there's philosophy in all this cant. If you go to writing woman, Treasurer, she'll soon fancy herself such. And just you let woman once get her hand into the Treasury-box, and won't there be a scattering among the dollars? Money will be spent for other purposes then, than mere political scrambles. But how is it now? I once heard the Mayor of a city say, that his salary amounted to \$3000, but to obtain and support the office, would take every dollar of the salary. And how was this money spent? first, in

wine suppers, and other libations to Bacchus ; feeing grog-shops, &c., &c. I think, should woman get control of the Treasury, the money *would* go some other way.

The question of woman's voting, of the propriety of woman's appearing at the polls, is already settled. See what has been done in Detroit : On the day of the late election, the women went to the offices and stores of gentlemen, asking them if they had voted. If the reply happened to be in the negative, as was often the case, the next question was, will you be kind enough to take this vote sir, and deposite it in the ballot-box for me? Which was seldom, if ever, refused. And so, many a man voted for the "Maine Law," who would not, otherwise, have voted at all. But this was not all : many women kept themselves in the vicinity of the polls, and when they found a man undecided, they ceased not their entreaties until they had gained him to the Temperance cause. More than this, two women, finding an intemperate man in the street, talked to him *four hours*, before they could get him to promise to vote as they wished. Upon his doing so, they escorted him, one on each side, to the ballot box, saw him deposite the vote they had given him, and then treated him to a good supper.

Now, this is more than any Woman's Rights advocate ever thought of proposing. Yet no one thinks of saying a word against it, because it was done for Temperance. But how much worse would it have been for those women to have gone to the polls with a brother, or husband, instead of with this man ? Or to have deposited two votes in perhaps five minutes time, than to have spent four hours in soliciting some other person to give one ? Why is it worse to go to the ballot-box with our male friends, than to the church, parties, or pic-nics, &c. ?

If a man should control the political principles of his wife, he should also control her religious principles. I heard it stated by one of the speakers this afternoon, I know not with what truth, though I suppose the gentleman must have known what he was uttering, that there was a law in Ohio to prevent negroes voting, and yet that negroes did vote here in the city of Cleveland. If this be the case, it might be well for women to take the matter into their own hands,

and on the day of the next election, march in a body to the polls and face the objection, if any there be, to her voting ; at least put the matter to a test, and let it no more be said that women don't take their rights. I think, that hardly an objection could be raised in Cleveland.

Not one of you but is convinced of the reasonableness of our position. It is a principle of your own manufacture, that irresponsible power is unsafe. Woman has always lived under the sway of this irresponsible power. She asks now that she be left to be responsible for herself. Her nature is the same as your own. You can find no difference. She, as naturally thirsts for independence as yourselves. This craving should be as fully gratified in her case, as in yours. The laws should protect alike the freedom of each. Neither should be permitted to tyrannize over the other. I believe those who made these laws, were honest at the time, so far as they were informed. But we have lived under a cloud all our days. The cloud however is now breaking, and the light, and air, and sunshine come in ; shall we welcome them ; or shall we shut ourselves once more in gloom, and forbid the entrance of the blessings ? I believe the hearts of this community are with us, and we have but to go firmly forward.

C. C. BURLEIGH.—Among the resolutions which have been acted upon and adopted by this meeting, is one which affirms that for man to attempt to fix the sphere of woman, is cool assumption. I purpose to take that sentiment for the text of a few words of remark, this evening, for it is just there that I think the whole controversy hinges. It is not so much, what is woman's appropriate sphere ; it is not so much what she may do and what she may not do, that we have to contend about ; as, whether one human being, or one class of human beings, is to fix for another human being, or another class of human beings, the proper field of action, and the proper mode of employing the faculties which God has given them. If I understand aright the principles of liberty, just here is the point of controversy, between the despot and the champion of human rights, in any department. Just when one human being assumes to decide for another, what is that other's sphere of action, just then despotism begins. Everything else is but the legitimate consequence of this.



I have said it is not so much a matter of controversy what woman may do, or may not do. Why, it would be a hard matter to say what *has* been recognized by men themselves, as the legitimate sphere of woman. We have a great deal of contradiction and opposition nowadays when woman attempts to do this, that, or the other thing, although that very thing has sometime or other, and somewhere or other, been performed or attempted to be performed by woman, with man's approval. If you talk about politics, why, woman's participation in politics is no new thing, is no mere assumption on her part, but has been recognized as right and proper by men.

You have already been told of distinguished women who have borne a very prominent part in politics, both in ancient and modern times, and yet the multitude of men have believed and acknowledged that it was all right ; and are now acknowledging it with all the enthusiasm of devoted loyalty. They are now acknowledging it in the case of an Empire on which it has been said that the sun never sets ; an Empire, "the morning drumbeat of whose military stations, circles the earth with one continued peal of the martial airs of England." It is recognized too, not by the ignorant and thoughtless only, or the radical and heretical alone, but also by multitudes of educated and pious men. That bench of Bishops, sitting in the House of Lords, receiving its very warrant to act politically, from the hands of a woman, listening to a speech from a woman on the throne, endorses every day the doctrine, that a woman may engage in politics.

Does woman ask to engage in those manly occupations which some men, in some places, have claimed as peculiarly appropriate to the masculine muscle? You will find that here also, the practice in regard to this particular, is altogether variant in different countries. Go to Germany, or France, or to much of that Island Empire which rules over so large a portion of the world, and you will find that woman shares the toil of the field with her husband, brother and father. You will find, that not only the lighter occupations which seem better adapted to her smaller frame, but the most severe drudgery of the field, falls to her lot ; and that multitudes of men consent and approve. There, woman is not deemed "out of her

appropriate sphere," in engaging in manly occupations in the open air, the performance of the toils of the artizan, or whatever else man *here* may choose to arrogate to be his exclusive employment.

The business of merchandizing has been conceded to woman, not so much in this country, as in other countries ; but in this country it is coming to be acknowledged to be within her appropriate sphere, by people not reckoned among the advocates of human rights. And thus I might go on and instance one sphere of action after another, and say in regard to each one of them, that somewhere, man has consented or is consenting that she should fill it, not excepting even the bloody toils of the battle field ; for have not orators, in their rounded periods, and poets in their strains of sweetest melody, joined to commemorate and eulogize in highest terms of praise, the deeds of the Maid of Saragossa, and others who have placed themselves in the "imminent deadly breach" in the service of their country ? What brighter name, whose higher renown has come down to us in the praises of oratory and poetry, than that of Joan of Arc, who in the day of her country's greatest peril, stepped forward to snatch the rod of the invader from his hand, and roll back the invading host, placing the crown on the head of its "God-anointed" and hereditary heir.

Everywhere, in every occupation then, men have recognized the right of woman to engage in all these occupations. All that men have asked at every step, has been, that woman should await their permission. Joan may set the crown upon the head of Charles, but she must go before the chief dignitaries of the Church and State, and ask leave to perform the duty to which God has called her.

Now, I confess, for the life of me, I do not see where the consistency or the logic is, in charging her now-a-days with departing from her sphere. If woman may do these deeds at man's bidding, I ask why she may not do the same deeds under the guidance of God, who wrote his warrant for her action on her very nature, when he created her soul such as it is, breathed the breath of life into her body which before was cold and senseless clay, and endowed her with these faculties, these instincts, these desires, which have drawn her out into active life, wherein she claims the right to display and exercise her powers. For did God ever put a faculty into a human being, which

he did not mean should be exercised? Did he create powers and attractions, for which he did not provide functions? Did he ever plant a desire or an affinity, which he did not mean should find its answering scope of activity? I ask you, if Infinite Goodness makes such mistakes, or inflicts such pain upon mortal man; leaving him not merely now unsatisfied, but forever condemned to be unsatisfied? Did He ever appoint, that this tantalus-thirst should crave the taste of waters, which yet were ever fleeing from lips forbidden to taste their coolness. No, my friends, God has given the desire, and has given the capacity for exercising all these faculties. Why, the power, the will, and the right to do, are found in the same being; or else a mistake has been made in the creation.

It is upon this ground, that I deny the power of man to set bounds to woman's sphere. I do not know what woman will do when the largest liberty is granted her. I do not know how many women will come upon the public platform, will enter the legal profession, the Legislative Hall, the chair of Executive power, the bench of the Judge, or the box of the jury. I do not know anything about this, and I do not want to know, in order that I may be able to decide whether I have a right to put a guard against the sex which they cannot pass. But of this I am sure, that just so soon as you concede to woman the largest liberty of choice, in regard to the occupation of her faculties, just so soon you will settle the question in the wisest possible manner, what woman will do, and what woman should do. Her nature will be true to itself, or rather her *God will be true to himself*, guiding her to that action which will be sure to be right in proportion as it flows from freedom. It is the constraint upon her faculties, which is cramping and distorting her; and it is that which is justly to be held responsible for any discord, or departure from propriety, here or there, which you may witness.

If you sieze the young tree, when it just begins to put forth to the air, and sunshine, and dews, and bend it in all directions, for fear it will not grow in proper shape, do not hold the tree accountable for its distortion. There is no danger that from acorns planted last year, pine trees will grow, if you do not take some special care to prevent it. There is no danger, that from an apple, will grow an oak, or

from a peach-stone, an elm ; leave nature to work out her own results, or in other words, leave God to work out his own purpose, and be not so anxious to intrude yourselves upon him, and to help him govern the Universe he has made. Some of us have too high an estimation of his goodness and wisdom, to be desirous of thrusting ourselves into his government. We are willing to leave the nature of woman, to manifest itself in its own aptitudes. Try it. Did one ever trust in God and meet with disappointment ? Never ! Tyrants always say it is not safe to trust their subjects with freedom. Austria says it is not safe to trust the Hungarian with freedom. Man says woman is not safe in freedom, she will get beyond her sphere.

After having oppressed her for centuries, what wonder if she should rebound, and at the first spring, even manifest that law of reaction somewhat to your inconvenience, and somewhat even beyond the dictates of the wisest judgment. What then ? Is the fault to be charged to the removal of the restraint ; or is it to be charged to the first imposition of the restraint ? The objection of our opponents remind one of the Irishman walking among the bushes just behind his companion, who caught hold of a branch, and passing on, let it fly back into the face of his friend : "Indade I am thankful to ye !" said the injured man, "for taking hold of that same ; it a'most knocked the brains out of my body as it was, and sure, if ye hadn't caught hold of it, it would have kilt me entirely !"

The winds come lashing over your lake, the waters piling upon each other, wave rolling upon wave, and you may say, what a pity we could not bridge the lake over with ice, so as to keep down these billows, which may rise so high as to submerge us. But stand still ! God has fixed the law upon the waters, "thus far shalt thou come ;" and as you watch the ever piling floods, it secures their timely downfall. When they come as far as their appointed limits, the combing crest of the wave tells that the hour of safety has arrived, proving that God was wiser than you in writing down laws for his creation. We need not bridge over woman's nature with the ice of conventionalism, for fear she will swell up, aye, and overflow the continent of manhood. There is no danger. Trust to the nature God has given to humanity, and do not except the nature he has given to this portion of humanity.

But I need not dwell upon such an argument, before an audience who have witnessed the bearing of women in this Convention. It is a cool, aye, insolent assumption, for man to prescribe the sphere of woman. What is the sphere of woman? Clearly, you say, her powers, her natural instincts, and desires determine her sphere. Who, then, best knows these instincts and desires? Is it he who has all his knowledge at second hand, rather than she who has it in all her consciousness? Woman *knows* woman; man only *hears* of her. If woman's nature be broadly and essentially different from man's, then I say the masculine element has no right and no power to fix the development of woman's action. As well require the pound weight to settle the length of the yard stick. Woman must assert and measure woman's rights. But if she is not thus essentially different, then why should her rights and sphere be essentially unlike. If man and woman are essentially identical, then their rights should be identical; if they are diverse, then she alone is competent to judge of her own rights, and her own sphere of action.

I might confirm this argument by an appeal to facts, and show you the results of an attempt of man to fix the sphere of woman. I might ask you what sort of human beings have grown up under this kind of interference. But I forbear to dwell upon that subject. I can safely leave it to your own reflections. I have no fear that you will not think of a great many things, which some of you have not thought much of, previous to your attendance here. One thing we know, that just in proportion as the sphere of woman has been recognized as wider, just in that proportion has the nature of man revealed itself as nobler. Where do you find the narrowest sphere of woman? Go among the savages. Go to those who send woman to dig the corn patch, or load her with the burden of game which her hunter husband has killed. Do you find woman nobler there, than when advanced to a higher grade in the scale of progression—than where woman finds a larger range of occupations, and a higher position with respect to her associates. Do you not find, that as you advance from the savage state to semi-barbarism, and thence to the best civilization yet attained, that where woman is admitted to competition in intellectual pursuits, in authorship, and in what were once

admitted to be exclusively the avocations of the masculine mind; and where woman has come forward in public as a lecturer, and as a singer of sweet songs, which delight the ear and reach the heart—do you not perceive a nobler type of woman? Thus you will ever find that the more you enlarge the scope of woman's activities, the more you enlarge her powers, and the more widely she unfolds herself, because the more each faculty is free to assert its own natural position.

If then, you find in the progress of the race hitherto, that woman has revealed herself pure, true and beautiful, and lofty in spirit, just in proportion as she has enjoyed the right to reveal herself; if this is the testimony of all past experience, I ask you where you will find the beginning of an argument against the claim of woman to the right to enlarge her sphere yet more widely, than she has hitherto done. Wait until you see some of these apprehended evils, aye, a little later even, than that, until you see the natural subsidence of the reaction from the first out-bound of their oppression, before you tell us it is not safe or wise to permit woman the enlargement of her own sphere.

The argument which I have thus based upon the very nature of man, and of humanity and God, is confirmed in every particular—is most impregably fortified on every point, by the facts of all past experience, and all present observation; and out of all this evidence of woman's right and fitness to determine her own sphere, I draw a high prophecy of the future. I look upon this longing of hers for a yet higher and broader field, as an evidence that God designed her to enter upon it.

“Want, is the garner of our bounteous Sire,  
Hunger, the promise of its own supply.”

I might even add the rest of the passage as an address to woman herself, who still hesitates to assert the rights which she feels to be

hers and longs to enjoy ; I might repeat to her in the words of the same poet :

"We weep, because the good we seek is not,  
When but for *this* it is not, that we weep ;  
We creep in dust to wail our lowly lot,  
Which were *not* lowly, if we scorned to creep ;  
That which we *dare* we shall be, when the will  
Bows to prevailing Hope, its would-be to fulfil.

It can be done. This demand of woman can be nobly and successfully asserted. It can be, because it is but the out-speaking of the divine sentiment of woman. Let us not then tremble, or falter, or despair—I know we shall not. I know that those who have taken hold of this great work, and carried it forward hitherto, against obloquy, and persecution, and contempt, will not falter now. No! Every step is bearing us to a higher eminence, and thus revealing a broader promise of hope, a brighter prospect of success. Though they who are foremost in this cause must bear obloquy and reproach, and though it may seem to the careless looker on, that they advance but little or not at all ; they know that the instinct which impels them being divine, it cannot be that they shall fail. They know that every quality of their nature, every attribute of their Creator, is pledged to their success.

"They never fail who gravely plead for right,  
God's faithful martyrs cannot suffer loss.  
Their blazing faggots sow the world with light,  
Heaven's gate swings open on their bloody cross."

PRES. MAHAN.—If I would not be interrupting at all, there are a few thoughts having weight upon my mind which I should be very happy to express. I have nothing to say to excite controversy at all, but there are things which are said, the ultimate bearing of which I believe is not always understood. I have heard during these discussions, things said which bear this aspect—that the relation of ruler and subject, is that of master and slave. The idea of the equality of woman with man, seems to be argued upon this idea. I am not now to speak whether it is lawful for man to rule the woman at all ; but I wish to make a remark upon the principles of governor and governed. The

idea seems to be suggested, that if the wife is subject to the husband, the wife is a slave to the husband. Now, I contend that it is not true in any sense, or any form ; there is a fundamental difference in all respects, between a ruler and subject, and a master and slave. The relation between the master and slave is in no form that of a ruler and subject. It is unlike it ; it is not a government. Permit me to illustrate these thoughts—and I will lay down this as a proposition, that, in all cases of appropriate authority, the relation of ruler and subject, when appropriately exercised, dignifies and exalts both, and that is a universal law which knows no exception. I will take the case of a parent and child in illustration ; and I ask, and appeal to the good sense of the audience, where is the child that is prepared for freedom, to stand up before the world a freeman ? It is the child who has learned obedience to parental authority, and he only who is prepared to be free. It is only this child who can appreciate freedom ; and it is subjection to authority which is the perfection of freedom. Whenever lawful authority exists, and, for the very end for which it ought to be exercised, it exalts and tends to the highest conceivable freedom. Our fathers fought for freedom. Freedom from what ? Freedom from all rule and authority ? No. They fought for righteous rule and authority, for legitimate rule and authority ; and wherever that exists, wherever it is exercised for the end for which it should be exercised, there freedom is exercised in the highest form.

I will take what is said in the Bible, and suppose we understand it in the sense in which the ministry explain it. Take the commandment—"Wives be in subjection to your husbands." Suppose there is a form of authority there, which the husband should exercise ; I say the wife being subjected to that form of authority, instead of being degraded, is elevated ; and that is a universal principle. Now, in order to show that the woman is not to be subject to the husband, you must show, not that subjection is slavery, but that the relation of ruler and subject in any form, is slavery. Why has the parent the right to control the child ? Because the child is dependent on the parent ; and wherever dependence exists, there, to the extent of that dependence, control ought to exist. As far as the woman is depend-



ent upon man, she ought to acknowledge that ; and so far as man is dependent on woman, he ought to acknowledge it ; and that is a universal principle that knows no exception. Well then, the question of human rights should never be argued upon this principle. You never can show upon this principle, that one intelligent being has not the right to rule another. The parent has that right, and woe to the parent who does not use it.

There is a thought here—I have said enough to vindicate the ground, and that is all I wished. I wish to have it understood, then, that just so far as subjection in any form is enjoined, if it is enjoined by the Author of man and woman, it is enjoined because it ought to exist, and in its existence both parties are elevated and neither degraded.

There is one thought to which I will allude ; that woman has wrongs in the laws, wrongs in the usages of society to complain of. Who can doubt it ? I don't believe you can find an audience in the length and breadth of the land, where, if woman will come and state her grievances as they are, she will not have a respectable hearing. It was said by a great Statesman in reference to the American Revolution, that it never could have succeeded had the conviction obtained that the progress of that Revolution would be unfavorable to Christianity ; that the progress of that Revolution would injure the influence of that dearest of Books which excels all others—

“ The Old Family Bible that lies on the stand.”

And now let me say here, should the conviction once obtain, that the principles which this society advocates, are in any form unfavorable to the prevalence of that dearest of Books, or that you are attempting to put them in that position, you will meet a rock. Any cause that strikes upon that rock will be broken, and any cause upon which that rock descends, will be ground to powder under it. No, no ; in that dearest of Books there is not a right that woman can ask of God or man which is not secured to her, not one ; and if in that Book, in the careful and prayerful study of it, it should be found that He who made the mind and gave it its powers ; made the body, and constituted man and woman—if *He* has said, in the sense in which

some would have it, even, that the woman should be subject to the man, and the wife to the husband, you will find that in no other position will woman attain her dignity; for God has never dropped an inadvertent thought, never penned an inadvertent line. There is not a law, or principle of his being, that whoever penned that Book did not understand. There is not a right which that Book does not recognize; and there is not a duty which man owes to woman, or woman to man, that is not there enjoined.

(Here Mr. BARKER put a piece of writing into the speaker's hand.)

MR. MAHAN continued—the question handed me, don't concern the audience.

(Several voices.) The question; read the question.

MR. MAHAN.—(Without reading the question.)—It is my firm conviction, that there is but one thing to be done on this subject—if the women of this State want the elective franchise, they can have it. I don't believe it is in the heart of man to refuse it. Only spread the truth, adhere to Woman's Rights, and adhere to that one principle, and when the people are convinced that her claim is just, it will be allowed.

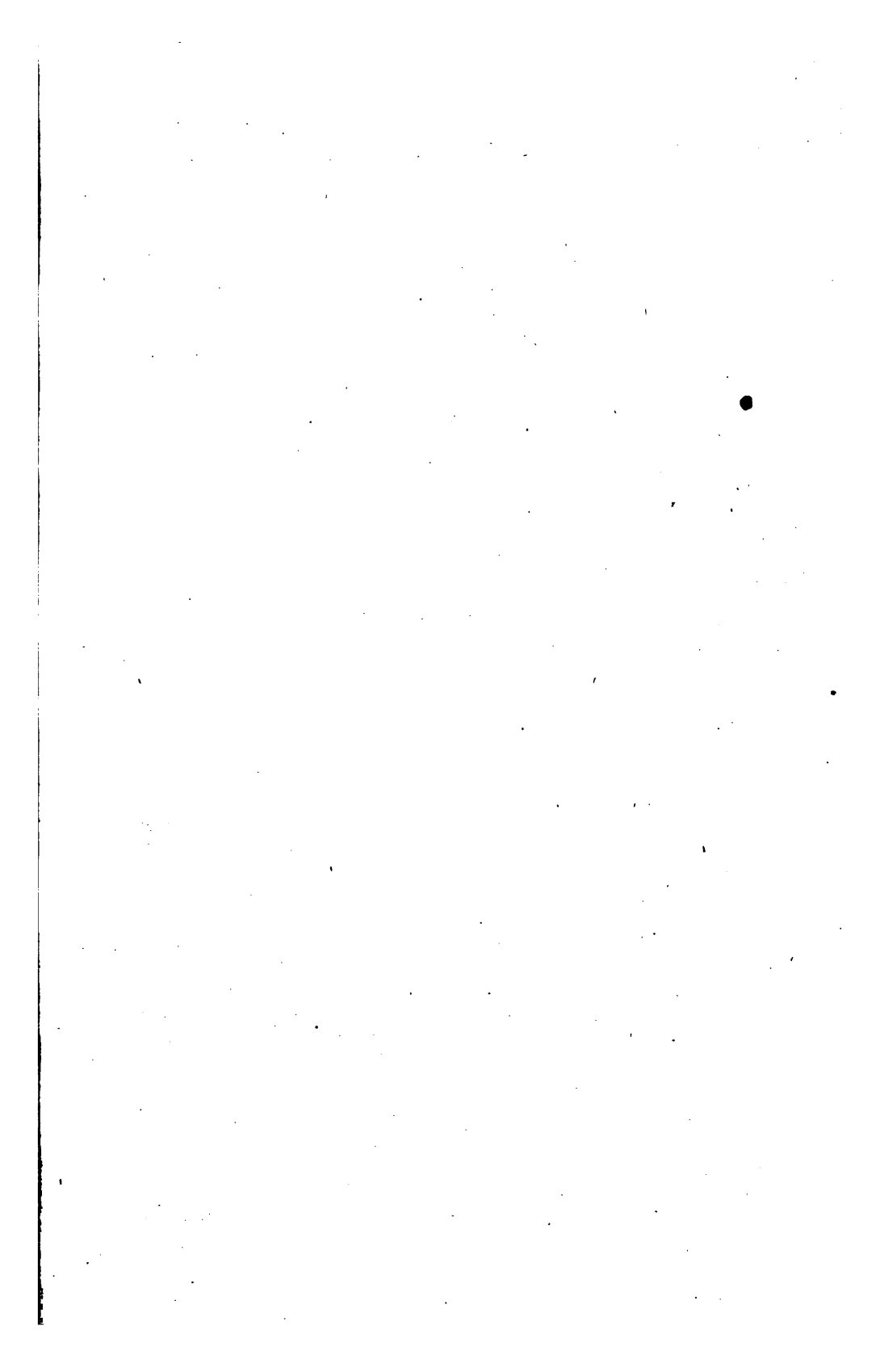
It was moved, seconded, and passed, that Mrs. Pauline W. Davis be appointed Chairman of the Central Committee for the ensuing year—Antoinette L. Brown, Secretary, and that the other officers and members be re-elected.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON presented, on behalf of the Committee, a declaration of sentiments, a draft of which was referred again with that of Seneca Falls and the letter of Wm. H. Channing, to the Committee for final action.

LUCY STONE, followed with an eloquent and earnest appeal to her sisters, especially those just coming to womanhood, to act in the living present, learn lessons of self-help, and go courageously onward in all the ways in which the good God had fitted them to walk. Living out their highest and best natures as immortal, responsible creatures.

The audience manifested great interest throughout, and closed at a late hour.

The Convention adjourned *sine die*.



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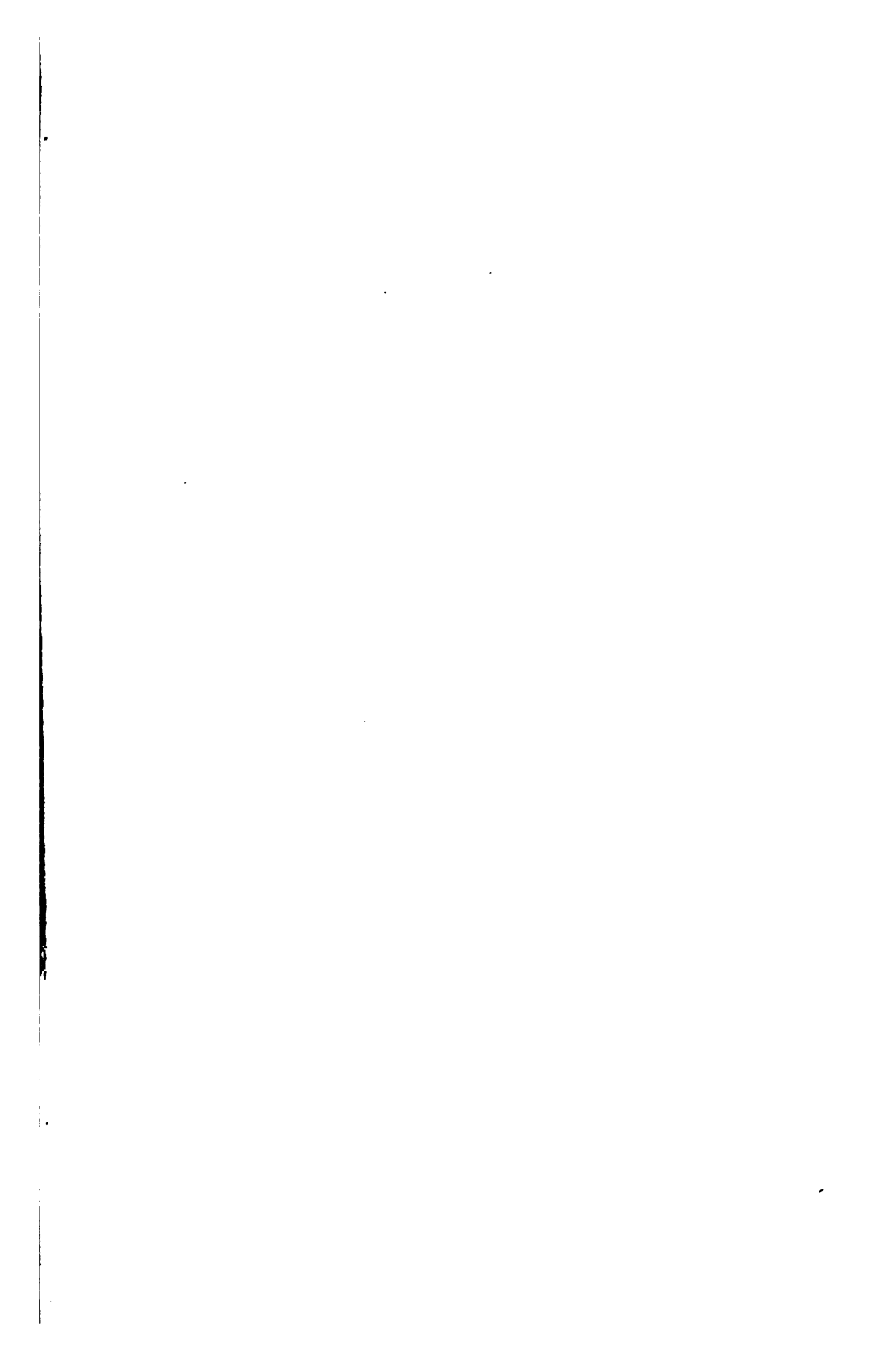
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